THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Inside

Exclusive

C.I.A. IN AFRICA EXPOSED



Young MPLA supporters in Luanda shantytown. The popular support of the Angolan people enabled the MPLA to destroy CIA schemes against the rich West African country.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents an explosive feature story on U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activity in Africa, ripping the cloak of secrecy off 18 CIA agents operating in the country of Zaire, including their names, addresses and home telephone numbers.

Not only does this article spotlight these 18 individual agents of fascism and imperialism, but it also serves to expose as an outright lie the official U.S. government contention that American aid to the reactionary, defeated FNLA and UNITA groups in the People's Republic of Angola came only in response to increased aid from the Soviet Union to the victorious MPLA. As the following story clearly shows, increased U.S. aid and spy activity in Zaire — which was used as a conduit into Angola — took place at least four to five months before major Soviet involvement.

The Central Intelligence Agency appears to have escalated its covert operations in Angola at least four months before the reported entry of major Soviet involvement, according to a study of official records from the American embassy in neighboring Zaire.

These records show conclusively that by November, 1974, if not before, the CIA had at least 18 undercover officials in Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire and the chief base camp for sending American military supplies over the border to the UNITA and the FNLA, the recently defeated pro-Western groups who

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Editorial

GUILTY

Now that Jo Anne Little's prediction didn't come true, it seems that nobody wants to buy that ragtag fairy tale of Princess Patty and the SLA, not even that nice friendly group of middle-class folks that took just 12 hours to reluctantly carve a matching pair of "Guilty" into the heart of the Hearst empire.

Of course, it's no laudits to the jury that they could see through the '70s new version of the Princess' New Clothes. After all, that gun in Patty's hands at the bank did look mighty real, and those shots she fired down in L.A. did come kinda close. And what was she doing during that year that the FBI says it took $10 million trying to find her, the jurors said they wanted to know. Good closet space — with room for two, or three — is hard to come by.

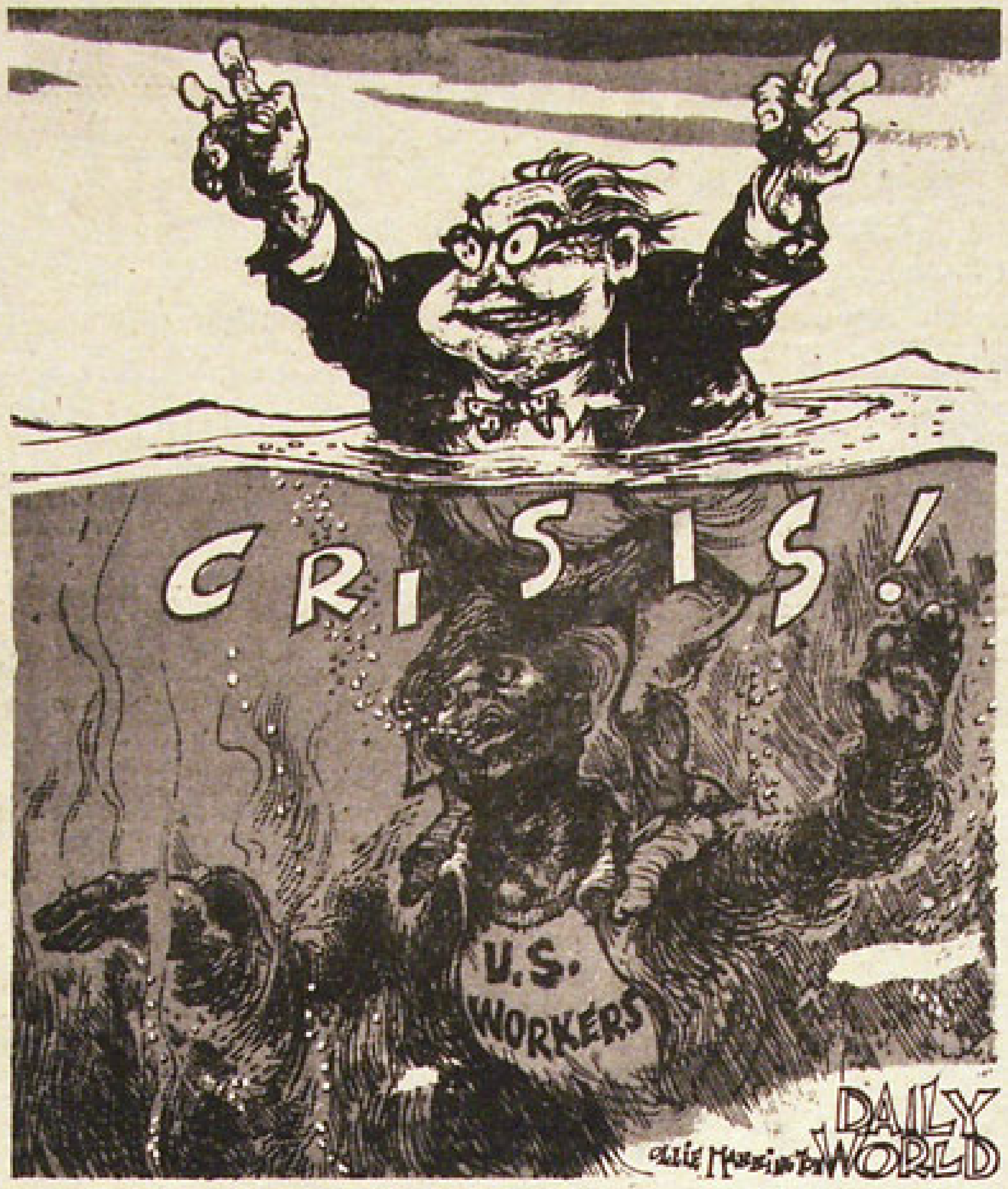
In fact, Princess Patty's only "automatic reaction" was to change her wet pants and reclaim her birthright position in society beside "Mom and Dad," the filthy rich bourgeoisie.

Yet, Patty Hearst is guilty, and guilty on actually two counts. First, guilty of violating trust, a fragile and delicate hope and respect painstakingly built up by a legitimate revolutionary organization, but which stands rock firm when those who truly serve the community come under attack. Second, guilty of violating the whole revolutionary process; guilty of attempting to perpetuate fantasy notions and barren middle-class values on the lives of Black and poor people struggling each day for the very survival of themselves and their children.

True revolutionaries come form the people and serve the people. They're not home grown, almost "token," Black convicts leading a bunch of White middle-class semi-adults and "kidnapped" (was she or wasn't she??) members of the bourgeoisie into battles against "fascist insects" armed with .357 magnum stingers. No, it doesn't work that way at all.

True revolutionaries transform themselves in the heat of the struggle to transform society. Through dedicated service to the people, true revolutionaries become one with the people. I become We, as the process spirals onwards towards the inevitable victory.

"Ripe for the plucking," Patty Hearst hung on the old family tree too long. Now she's spoiled rotten. . . and stinks.□



An Appeal To Our Readers

Dear Readers and Friends,

The Distribution and Circulation Department of THE BLACK PANTHER is in desperate need of a van or truck, with which we could greatly increase the availability of our paper in the Northern California region.

Demands and requests for THE BLACK PANTHER have greatly increased in recent months. Many people have heard through word of mouth of the excellence of our paper and particularly its unrivaled and superior coverage of the African liberation movements of southern Africa, but they do not have access to it.

Those of you who are regular readers know THE BLACK PANTHER is the only newspaper in the country that has provided weekly coverage, in detail and accurately, of developments in Angola. Only because the American people in general and Black people in particular are kept misinformed and ill-informed about developments in southern Africa, could so heinous a scheme as Roy Innis' — that Black mercenaries fight the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola — be even listened to in the Black community.

It is of the greatest urgency that THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper be made easily accessible to this community and to every community in this country. A major leap forward toward that objective would be realized if our Circulation Department could secure a truck or van.

If you know anyone who has a truck or van they can contribute, please contact them or let us know. Also, please dig down into your pockets and pocketbooks and send us a generous contribution towards securing this much needed transportation. Every 10 cents will help. Help us now, as many of you have done so generously in the past.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

David G. Du Bois
Editor-in-Chief

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COMMENT

"The Puerto Rican Struggle Continues"

By Lolita Lebron

On March 1, 1954, four Puerto Rican nationalists, led by a 34-year-old woman named Lolita Lebron, launched an armed assault on the U.S. Congress, attacking the U.S. House of Representatives with guns blazing and shouts of "Puerto Rico Libre." The assault was made in response to the enactment of Law No. 600, which declared Puerto Rico a "commonwealth" under U.S. jurisdiction.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER concludes an eloquent and committed statement by Ms. Lebron made during an interview conducted recently at the federal penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia, and reprinted from the Guardian. *Ms. Lebron and her comrades are the longest held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.*

CONCLUSION

The Puerto Rican people have felt the tactics and strategies of colonialism and subjugation. They have been taught to be afraid of freedom or not to lift their voices for national identity. It is paramount in the making of colonialism that the colonized repudiate the birthright to nationhood and that they bind themselves to the concept of paternalism, wherein the Big Papa sucks off the resources and the vitality of the captive nations.

The U.S. has done everything scientifically and otherwise to destroy the Puerto Rican independence movement and the nation's deep aspirations of nationhood. It uses all kinds of weapons, psychological and of myriad forms, to kill the liberation spirit of Puerto Rico.

It is struggling very hard to destroy the Puerto Rican family, the Puerto Rican revolutionaries, the Puerto Rican would-be-born children. It sterilizes our young mothers and young women, to avoid Puerto Rican human harvests, just as it has killed almost all our agriculture, and many of our men in its wars of conquest and aggrandizement.

U.S. weapons are used against our workers and against the

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FRED HAMPTON MURDER CASE

F.B.I. Admits 8 Informers Infiltrated Chicago B.P.P.

(Chicago, Ill.) - The former head of the FBI's Racial Matters Squad here admitted last week that at least eight agent provocateurs infiltrated the Chicago Chapter of the Black Panther Party and regularly passed along information to federal authorities in 1969, the year of the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Two of the informants were William O'Neal and Maria Fisher, said Roy Mitchell, the fourth FBI official to testify in the $47.7 million damage case. He did not identify the other provocateurs.

According to Mitchell, the Judas agents were paid on a cash-only basis, with the amounts depending on the "value" of the information. He said he regularly passed on the provocateurs' reports to local Chicago police officials, but none of the information ever lead to the prosecution of Black Panther Party members.

In his capacity as head of the Racial Matters Squad, Mitchell coordinated the Chicago FBI's COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program), the coordinated, nationwide federal government attempt to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party.

Reading from a December, 1968, report, Mitchell related how O'Neal tried to convince Party leaders to wire the metal door of the Chicago headquarters so that it would electrocute any unwanted intruder instantly.

Another O'Neal scheme was the suggestion that a device be installed in the hallway of the building that "when triggered would kill in a matter of seconds."

Neither of O'Neal's double-edged suggestions were ever implemented, Mitchell said. Mitchell also acknowledged that he knew that O'Neal had a previous criminal record prior to recruiting him, and that one of his arrests had been for impersonating a federal agent.

Although Mitchell has not as yet specified any information that provocateurs O'Neal or Fisher supplied, plaintiffs in the case have charged that O'Neal supplied the FBI with a detailed floor plan of Hampton's 2337 West Monroe apartment, site of the December 4, 1969, predawn police raid. An "X" marked on the map located Hampton's bed.□



BPINS photos

Women inmates in San Francisco County Jail face many of the abuses suffered by their counterparts in the California Institute for Women in Frontera.

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION AT CALIF. WOMEN'S PRISON OPPOSED

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM UNIT: "PRESSURE, HARASSMENT AND A THREAT"

(Sacramento, Calif.) - A high-spirited rally took place here last Friday morning to oppose the opening of a behavior modification program known as the "Alternative Program Unit (APU)" at the California Institute for Women (CIW) in Frontera.

Women can be transferred to the Unit at the whim of a prison guard. Once inside the Unit, women must "earn" the privileges which other prisoners have as rights, such as access to mail, visiting, and eating meals with other prisoners.

The women at CIW are against the Unit, because it is a method of dividing and punishing them in the name of "therapy." Over 400 women at CIW have already signed a petition voicing their opposition to the Unit, and have asked for help and support from people outside.

What is it like in the APU? Following, an ex-APU resident gives her shocking account:

"There is no real program in APU — the so-called program consists of getting up by 6:30 a.m. going to breakfast that consists of cold, hard toast, coffee that is always cold. All three meals that were brought to us were always cold and half the time they didn't bring enough food.

"By 8:00 a.m. we were expected to be completely dressed with our beds made, not only on weekdays but also on Saturdays and Sundays. At 8:00 sharp, the staff would start coming down the hall with a pad and pencil, writing down names of those of us that were not dressed or even those that were in the process of making their bed.

"STATE ASSIGNMENT"

"Our 'state assignment' had to be done and completed by 10:00 or we would be written a 125B and locked for the rest of the day.

"We had constant harassment from the staff. The halls were out of bounds and there was no visiting in each other's room. They would be waiting for us to go to our rooms, then they would follow behind us and pull our doors open for no reason. . .This is no jive, this really happened to us.

"The male staff have no consideration or respect for us women. They would not announce 'man in the hall' nor knock on our door before pulling it open. The staff would always push their authority around and provoke us.

"For instance, one inmate was called a 'bitch' by the staff. Another inmate was told to 'shut up' or else she would get a tray in her room, meaning she would be locked for the entire day. All because she asked if count was clear yet.

"On February 4, we had a problem in the Unit. We were locked down for around two and one-half hours, until Jim Ward arrived in APU. When Ward arrived we were pulled out to group, and he asked us inmates in detail how two women 'fucked.' Then he asked one inmate how she 'fucks.'

"When the inmates refused to explain their personal relationships and when there was no response to his satisfaction, we were then ordered to lock in for the remainder of the day.

"We couldn't shower without being harassed by the staff. For instance there were two women in the shower area, and when another woman was going to enter the shower the staff pulled her by the robe and told her that no 'boys' were allowed to take showers with the 'women'.

"We couldn't wave, signal nor talk through the windows. If staff saw any indication that we were communicating with another person on 'campus' we would be written a 128 or 115, depending on what the staff felt like writing.

"All this that has been written has happened to us in APU and is still happening to those left in APU. APU to us was only pressure and harassment and a threat."□

Eldridge Cleaver "Accepts Christ" In Jail Cell

(Oakland, Calif.) - According to a *Los Angeles Times* report, former clothes designer Eldridge Cleaver recently "accepted Christ" in his Alameda County Courthouse jail cell.

Jail chaplain Glenn L. Morrison of Follow Up Ministries is quoted as saying that Cleaver's "rebirth" took place in January when he had been "placed in a tank with a strong Christian convict who had once been his enemy" when the two men did time at San Quentin.

This cellmate "witnessed" to Cleaver. Shortly after that, when Morrison was making his regular cell calls, he said, "Eldridge lingered behind and asked to have a special interview with me. . .It progressed from there."

Cleaver is also said to want to tone down public discussion since he does not want to use his experience as a lever to secure favors.

STUDY PROVES CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE — FOR GUARDS AND INMATES

(San Rafael, Calif.) — There were no court sessions at the San Quentin 6 trial here last week due to the illness of one of the defendants, Willie Tate, who was out fighting a bout with the flu.

When court resumes on Monday, Marin County Assistant District Attorney Jerry Herman is expected to begin his cross-examination of Dr. Philip Zimbardo, a well-credentialed social psychologist called as an expert witness in the defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain.

Questioned by Party chief counsel Charles R. Garry, Dr. Zimbardo provided an insightful account of his famous Stanford Prison Experiment, a study which clearly shows that inhumane prison conditions drastically affect the behavior of both inmates and guards, causing uncontrollable fear and rage.

In the experiment, 24 Stanford volunteers were divided into groups of mock "prisoners" and mock "guards" and placed in a specially constructed "prison" in the basement of a university dormitory.

Within six days — when the scheduled two-week experiment was abruptly halted — under conditions of "maximum surveillance and maximum security," four mock "prisoners" had nervous breakdowns. Others fantasized revenge against the mock "guards." The level of brutality of the "guards" significantly increased each day of the short-lived but conclusive experiment.

Following is Part 3 of Dr. Zimbardo's court testimony in which he backs up the validity of his Stanford Experiment by citing two similar prison studies which matched his shocking results.

PART 3

GARRY: Now, Doctor, you also mentioned the fact that the guards would deny — after it was over — they would deny any form of physical restraint or brutality as you called it?"

ZIMBARDO: "What they denied was not that they had done it, but they denied that this was characteristic or typical of their behavior; that there was nothing comparable in their past that would have led them to predict that they could have done such a thing."

GARRY: "I see. Now, you have now given us the Stanford demonstration that you've described this morning, as arriving at your opinions. What others have you taken into consideration pursuant to your being called as an expert witness here today?"

ZIMBARDO: "Well, maybe I can extend the implications of the prison experiment in the following way: that one test of whether an experiment is valid is to see whether other people can produce the same kind of results using similar procedurees — and indeed that is exactly what has happened.

"Our study was repeated just last year at the University of New South Wales by a psychologist named S.H. Lovibond. A copy of that report I have here, and essentially what it says — and I can quote from parts of its — is that they repeated the procedures we used, and they called that "standard custodial regime." It was modeled on medium to high security prisons in Australia. The emphasis was strongly custodial, and then they go on to describe the procedures they used, which were very similar to ours.

"They also had other procedures which they called 'individualized custodial,' and more permissive, liberal orientation which they called 'participatory regime.'

"Subjects were paid $15 a day. They used male volunteers; their

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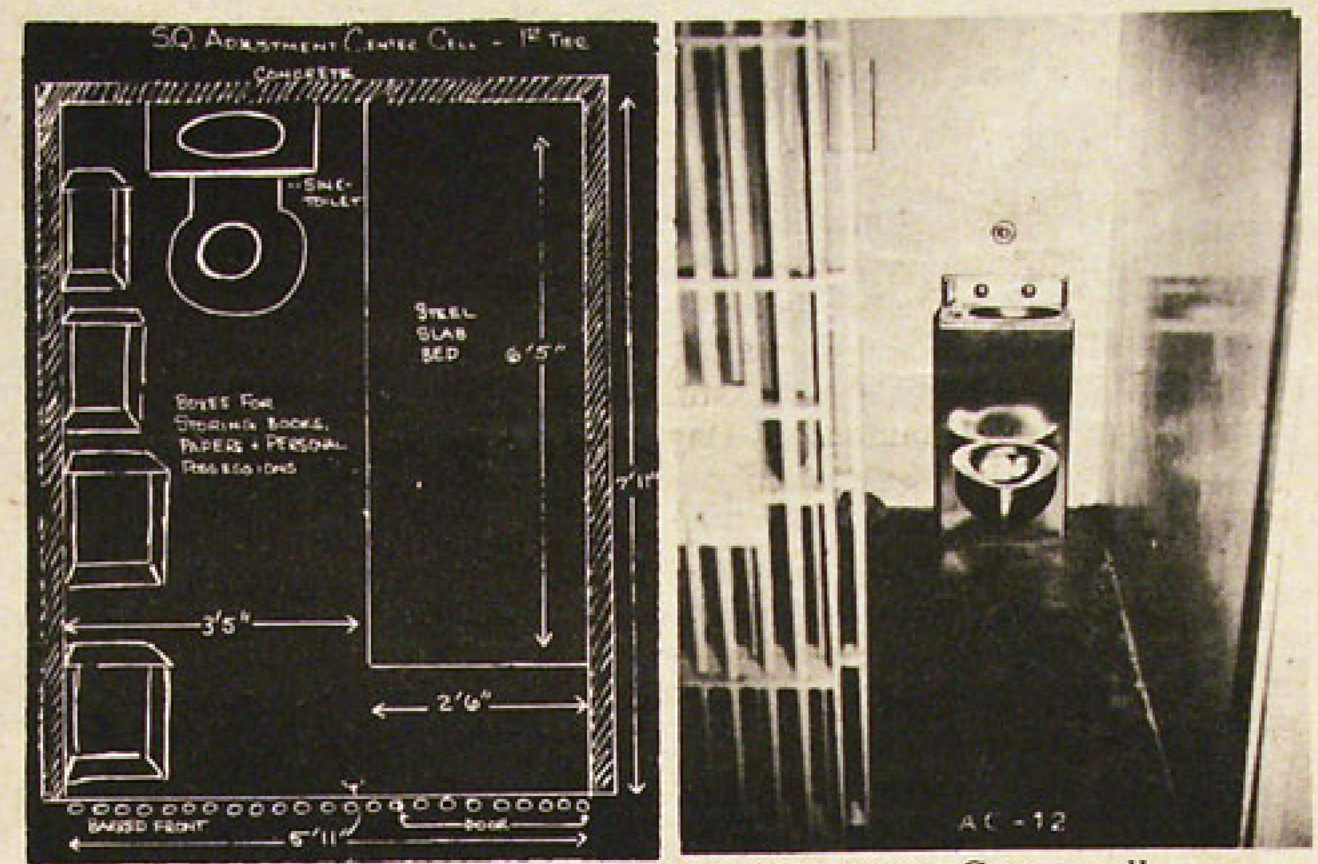
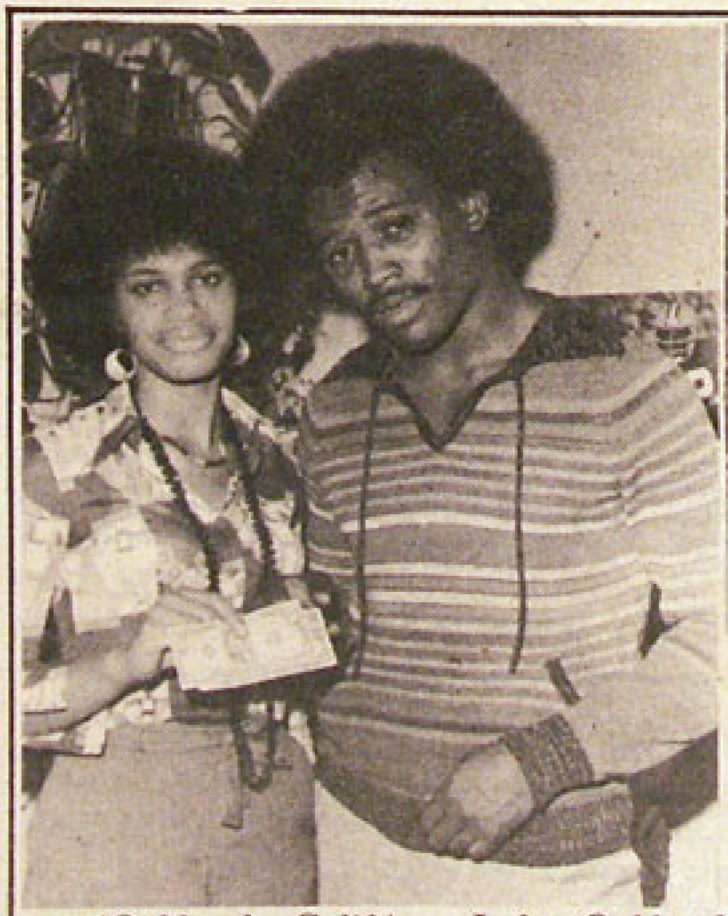
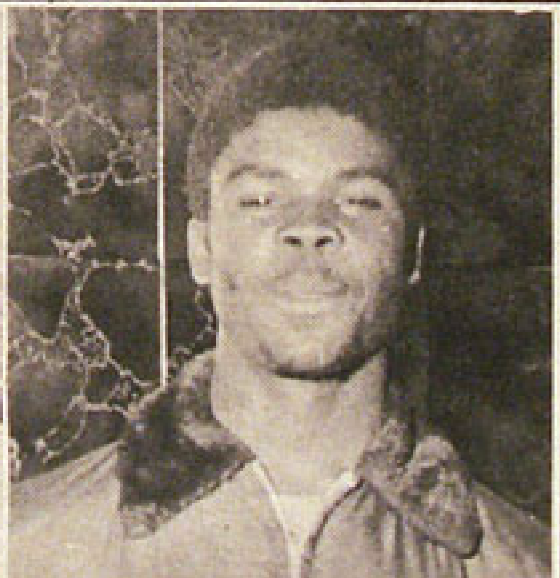


Diagram and photo of San Quentin Adjustment Center cell.





O.C.S. Donation Drawing Winners

(Oakland, Calif.) - Left, Oakland Community School (OCS) instructor KAYE CASEY presents the $100 first prize in the OCS Donation Drawing to RICK HIGHTOWER, a lucky East Oakland resident from nearby Havenscourt Projects.

Right, GREG JORDAN of West Oakland smiles when told he has won five record albums of his choice as the third place winner in the Donation Drawing. Unfortunately, the winner of the second place prize of $50, Ms. Osa Russell, was unavailable when these pictures were taken.

BPINS photos

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

March 22, 1960

During the early '60s, the sit-in movement swept the South like a prairie fire. The reaction of the racist Southern power structure was fierce repression. By March 22, 1960, *Associated Press* reported that more than 1,000 Black people had been arrested in these demonstrations.

March 25, 1961

The embarrassment resulting from a nationwide controversy over segregated hotels in Charleston, South Carolina, caused the meeting place of the National Civil War Centennial Commission to be moved from Charleston to Charleston Navel Station on March 25, 1961.

March 23, 1971

On March 23, 1971, Walter E. Fountray, became the first Black non-voting Congressional representative from Washington, D.C. since the Reconstruction.

March 25, 1971

Former President Richard Nixon met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus on March 25, 1971. They presented him with a 32-page report which demanded that his administration focus on the problems of Black and poor people.

March 25, 1972

A predominantely Black demonstration of over 30,000 adults and children, marched to the White House and the Washington Monument to protest the welfare, education and child care policies of Richard Nixon on March 25, 1972. The huge Washington, D.C. rally was organized by the National Welfare Rights Organization.

NATIVE AMERICAN ISSUES

I.S.C. Coordinator Receives Teaching Fellowship

(Palo Alto, Calif.) - Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) coordinator Miriam Cherry has received a fellowship here to educate Stanford University church officials on the problems of Native Americans.

Ms. Cherry, who is a Shoshone Indian, received a $5,400 Underwood Fellowship from the Danforth Foundation just a few days before the first anniversary of her firing from the Stanford ministry. Miriam has been very active in Native American affairs through her involvement in the legal defense of Yvonne Wanrow and the fight against the extradition of American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks.



MIRIAM CHERRY (center) at Native American festival.

As a result of her dedicated work in support of the Black Panther Party and its Survival Programs, Ms. Cherry was fired on March 10, 1975, by former chaplain John Duryea from the university's St. Ann's Catholic chapel. Her firing evoked widespread protest by the Stanford faculty and student body as well as from numerous religious and community leaders.

Through the assistance of the oppressed and progressive community, Ms. Cherry has been able to develop and expand a prophetic ministry which developed into the Stanford Ministry in July, 1973. The ISC, a White support group of the Black Panther Party, has been able to develop flourishing survival programs throughout the Mid-Peninsula area under her direction.

Ms. Cherry's firing caused a severe split at St. Anne's Church and Father Duryea was eventually replaced by Father Eugene Boyle, known for his support of progressive social causes. □

NAIROBI DAY AND HIGH SCHOOLS HONORED AT 9th FOUNDER'S DAY CELEBRATION

(Palo Alto, Calif.) - The need for Black and other poor and oppressed people to come together to build institutions in the community that meet the needs of the people whom they serve was the theme of the highly successful Ninth Annual Founder's Day benefit celebration for the Nairobi Day and High Schools held here last Saturday night at Rickey's Hyatt House.

Highlighted by keynote addresses by Black Panther Party chairperson and leading member Ms. Elaine Brown and Oakland Community School Director Ms. Ericka Huggins, the gala affair, attended by over 750 people, paid tribute to the quality alternative education that the Nairobi Schools have provided to the predominantly Black and poor community of East Palo Alto since 1966.



Mrs. GERTRUDE WILKS (left), founder and director of the Nairobi Schools, with Black Panther Party chairperson ELAINE BROWN. Elaine reads the certificate of community service she received at last Saturday's benefit program in Palo Alto.

The Nairobi educational system, founded by Mrs. Gertrude Wilkes - the guiding light and dedicated director of the Schools - and other concerned community people, includes two day care centers for pre-school age children, kindergarden, elementary, junior high and high school.

Master of ceremonies for the evening was Dr. Harold Varner, the popular coordinator of public affairs for KDIA Radio. Following the singing of the "Black National Anthem" and the invocation, East Palo Alto Mayor Henry Anthony welcomed the audience, commenting that "the East Palo Alto community has come together and is pleased with the job the Nairobi Schools have done."

Next on the program, Ms. Leslie Jenkins made brief remarks on the history of the Nairobi Schools, noting that they were "born out of the needs of the community." She was followed by delightful performances by some of the elementary and junior high school students who drew roars of approval from the audience when they declared, "Busing children won't solve a darned thing. Busing teachers is the solution."

In the next portion of the program, the Berkeley Unified School District Gospel Choir, under the direction of Jessie Anthony, gave an inspiring performance that had everyone on their feet clapping and rocking. Eighty of the choir's 330 talented Black youth sang several moving selections.

Following the choir, Elaine Brown praised the Nairobi Schools as "a fine example showing that a community can come together and develop something positive for itself. Unless there had been people like Gertrude Wilks and others working at the Nairobi Schools, the children in this area would have been forgotten," Elaine said.

Expressing "how wonderful I feel here tonight," Elaine urged

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County Supervisors Support Community School

(Oakland, Calif.) - Right, Alameda County Supervisor TOM BATES presents Oakland Community School Director ERICKA HUGGINS with a Certificate of Commendation praising the contributions of the five-year-old model elementary level school.

In part, the Certificate says that the Oakland Community School "has exemplified the highest standard in quality education, particularly for the disenfranchised and alienated young people of the Black and other minority communities it primarily serves. . .

"The Alameda County Board of Supervisors joins an impressive list of supporters and sponsors in honoring the fine work of the Oakland Community School in the field of education in our country."

Left, KDIA Radio program director KEITH ADAMS holds a shining plaque from OCS Director Ericka Huggins thanking the station and staff of KDIA (1310 AM) for co-sponsoring the fantastic February 29 benefit Radiothon which raised over $13,000 in pledges for the popular East Oakland school.

BPINS photos

GEORGIA BLACKS WIN SUIT AGAINST RACIST ELECTION ZONING

(Atlanta, Ga.) — A recent federal court ruling last month, accepting a redistricting plan drawn by Black plaintiffs in a Marietta, Georgia, case, could have dramatic effects Southwide if used as a model for action against racial gerrymandering which denies political representation to minorities, according to the Voter Education Project, Inc. (VEP).

"The court-approved redistricting plan for political subdivisions which had been gerrymandered in Marietta is a long-awaited answer to the petitions of Black people who have been unlawfully denied representation," said John Lewis, executive director of the Voter Education Project.

"The Marietta case demonstrates that local citizens can organize and achieve redress of such grievances and inequities and that's a lesson we can pass on to minorities in hundreds of similarly situated local municipalities throughout the South," said Lewis.

In a ruling in Atlanta's U.S. District Court, Judge Charles A. Moye ruled in favor of the plaintiffs that the existing city council ward boundaries unlawfully excluded minority political representation.



Black man exercises his Constitutional right to vote. A recent federal court ruling which accepted a redistricting plan in Marietta, Georgia, may have a dramatic effect on Southern Black political representation.

Stanley Alexander, VEP's research director who provided the local plaintiffs with consultation in preparing both the court action and the redistricting plan, asserted that the Marietta case should serve as a warning to the "hundreds of racially malapportioned municipalities in the South and especially those local governments which have consistently refused to comply with provisions of the Voting Rights Act."

One of the local plaintiffs, Hugh Grogan, pointed out that the Marietta decision means that Blacks need not be in a majority in a city or town to achieve equity in political representation. "Blacks in Marietta constitute only about 15 or 16 per cent of the population," Grogan states, "but now, after all these years of work and waiting, we finally have a situation where it is not virtually impossible for a Black candidate to be elected to public office."

"We have achieved our rights only because we, as a local community group, pressed the issue and shouldered the burden of our own defense," said Grogan. □

Southern Activists Organize Against Unemployment

(Memphis, Tenn.) — One hundred activists from eight Southern states met at a workshop here recently and discussed how to organize in their communities to build movements big enough to cope with growing inflation and unemployment.

One result was a plan for a Southwide campaign to mount popular demand that Congress pass pending legislation that would guarantee every person a job.

The occasion was an all-day workshop sponsored by the Economic Fight-Back Project of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic & Social Justice (SOC) and the Martin Luther King, Jr., Workers Conferences, which are headquartered here.



Recent Memphis workshop dealt with rising Black unemployment throughout the South.

The workshop was a follow-up to one held last June which brought together 50 community and labor organizers from across the South and set up SOC's Fight-Back Project. Since then many of those people have been organizing in their communities and were able to exchange experiences when they met in Memphis. Those in Memphis came from 49 local community organizations and six international trade unions.

The Memphis workshop voted to build Southern participation in a march "For Jobs, Lower Prices and Aid to Cities," scheduled for Saturday, April 3, in Washington. The march has been called by the National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment.

Support was also planned for the Southern wing of the Continental Walk for Disarmament &

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EYES ON CITY HALL

Ward Plan Invalidated

(Oakland, Calif.) - Laney political scientist Victor James, Jr., has threatened to file suit against the city of Oakland after his initiative to eliminate the city's "at large" voting system failed to qualify for the June 8 primary ballot.

Over 19,621 signatures were turned in on petitions to revive the ward system of voting in Oakland. James contends that enough were valid to meet the 15,657 total required to put the measure on the ballot.

Plumbers Accept Anti—Bias Plan

(Oakland, Calif.) — Representatives from the Black and minority communities of this city signed an agreement last week with plumbers' trade officials, accepting a plan to combat the racist bias of this construction industry.

"The intent of the agreement is to insure full performance of the (plumbing) trade's prior commitment under the Alameda County 'Hometown Plan' to achieve minority percentage of the general population of Alameda County (33 per cent)," stated the Bay Area Construction Opportunity Program (BACOP) in a recent press release.

According to BACOP:

"The new agreement establishes specific programs designed to bring minority persons into the trade and to remedy any underemployment of minority trade members. The primary entry mechanism for new minority members will be the trade's apprenticeship program."

Port Of Oakland Saved

(Oakland, Calif.) - A local committee attempting to change the City Charter to force the Port of Oakland to share its large surplus revenues with this economically depressed city has lost a battle for more time to place its initiative on the June 8 primary ballot.

Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian has ruled against the Committee for Civic and Financial Reform in Oakland, who contended that the deadline should be April 9 instead of March 10.

JOHN GEORGE CAMPAIGN WINS WIDESPREAD ENDORSEMENTS

East Bay Elected Officials Rally Behind Progressive Oakland Lawyer

(Oakland, Calif.) — Widespread support for the candidacy of well-respected local Black attorney John George for the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Fifth District, has grown significantly in recent weeks, with a large number of East Bay elected officials lining up behind his well-organized, community-oriented campaign.

Within the last few weeks, George's candidacy has received endorsements from:

Oakland City Council: John Sutter and Joe Coto.

Oakland Board of Education: Peggy Stinnett, Barney Hilburn, Charles Goady and Seymore Rose.

Berkeley City Council: Ying Lee Kelley, Ilona Hancock and John Denton. In addition, Berkeley City Auditor Florence McDonald has announced her support for George.

Emeryville: Mayor Wallace Fox, City Councilman Rena Rickles, City Clerk Alyce M. Winger and Chief of Police John LaCoste.

Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) Board of Directors: Richard Clark, Harvey Glasser, Ella Hutch and Elmer Cooper.

A.C. Transit Board of Directors: Chester McGuire and Roy Nakadegawa.



BPINS photo

Alameda County Supervisorial candidate JOHN GEORGE (center) with Berkeley City Councilpersons ILONA HANCOCK (left) and JOHN DENTON (right).

The newly-created Fifth District seat on the Board of Supervisors encompasses an area which includes the cities of Berkeley, Albany, Emeryville as well as North and West Oakland and the Lakeshore-Trestle Glen section of Oakland.

"PEOPLE'S POWER"

With just a little more than two months away, it looks like John George's frontrunning candidacy is about to shift into high gear — motored, as he says, by "people's power."☐



Black parents inspect fire-damaged North Division High School.

Milwaukee Parents Refuse To Send Children To Fire Damaged High School

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - Parents of students at the predominantly Black North Division High School here have vowed to keep their children out of the school, which they charge is unsafe due to a recent fire.

Major portions of the dilapidated 70-year-old structure were badly damaged by a recent, five-alarm fire. Members of the North Division Parent-Teacher-Student Organization (PTSO) met with Milwaukee Schools Superintendent Lee McMurin after they toured the building and found dangerous hazards existing.

Despite pleas from PTSO members, McMurrin refused to keep the school closed until sufficient repairs were made. After his refusal the group immediately called for a boycott of North Division.

Several Milwaukee School Board officials have agreed with the parents' group and suggested the school's 1,300 students be bused to other city high schools, at a cost of $66,000 for the rest of the year. McMurrin still refused to close down the school, claiming it would cost just as much to board up the school — $20,000 — as it would cost to make repairs.

Later, McMurrin admitted that it would actually cost $200,000 to sufficiently repair the school. He had at least one racist Milwaukee School Board member on his side who argued against closing North

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Metcalfe Victory Batters Daley Machine In Chicago

(Chicago, Ill.) - Incumbent Black Chicago Congressman Ralph Metcalfe stunned this city's political circles last week by winning the Democratic Party's nomination for his district without the support of the corrupt Richard Daley machine.

Congressman Metcalfe won a landslide victory over Daley's handpicked "Black" candidate, Erwin France, in Chicago's First Congressional District, which is 89 per cent Black. By winning, Metcalfe became the first Black person to ever run successfully in an election in opposition to Mayor Daley.

Metcalfe had long been a Daley loyalist, but broke with the "machine" in 1972 over the issue of rampant police brutality in Chicago's Black communities. The break became even wider last year when Metcalfe supported Chicago Alderman William Singer in his mayoral bid against "Boss" Daley.

Metcalfe's popularity with the Black community skyrocketed after his break with Daley. In 1972 and 1974 he was re-elected to Congress, receiving over 90 per cent of the vote in his district.

The race in the First District was viewed as the most surprising contest in the primary because the district is located on Chicago's Southside, which previously had been a bastion of strength for Daley. Local political observers feel that it was Mayor Daley's racist arrogance that was the major factor in Metcalfe's victory. Many Black Southsiders felt insulted that the mayor had attempted to crush the popular Black congressman who had gained their local support.

Metcalfe took 71 per cent of the vote last week, and many Chicagoans are beginning to question how long the Daley machine will last.

Throughout his campaign, Metcalfe made the political independence of the Black community the major issue. In his radio commercials, Metcalfe pointed out that, "As you know, the Boss downtown is trying to destroy me because I serve you." Sound cars drove through the community blasting the slogan, "Don't let the machine run over you."



RALPH METCALFE and his wife FAYE greeting supporters at last week's victory celebration.

Speaking before his supporters on election night attempting to restrain tears, Metcalfe hailed his victory as a "people's victory. Starting tonight, we will move on to a new day, and we will demand all we are entitled to," he proclaimed.☐

Nairobi Day And High Schools Honored

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

the community to "begin to develop our own institutions and not be so reliant and dependent on outside sources. We can do this because we are a powerful people."

Emphasizing the importance of properly educating our children, Elaine said, "Our children are our future. They are everything and every hope that we have. We must devote our lives to seeing that they have an arena in which they can live and breathe as human beings."

On behalf of the Black Panther Party, Elaine presented a check for $200 in appreciation and support of the work of the Nairobi Schools.

Following a vocal solo, "I'm So Glad Trouble Don't Last Always," sung by Rev. Dalton Dyer, brother of Mrs. Wilks, Ericka Huggins addressed the audience.

Ericka explained that similarly to the Nairobi Schools the model elementary level Oakland Community School began in 1971 with no money. "We started out of concern and love with 15 parents who felt that anything would be better than the public schools. We built our school on nothing, absolutely zero," Ericka said.



BPINS photo

Ms. ERICKA HUGGINS

Ericka, who announced that she is a candidate for the Alameda County Board of Education, commented on the need for alternative schools such as the Oakland Community School and the Nairobi Schools. "I see a lot of children who are in a desperate state, who come to us from public schools distraught, depressed, misinformed and oppressed. We provide them with a lot of love and individual attention. We are every concerned that all children learn how and not what to think because we were never given that chance," Ericka noted.

Commending the work of the Nairobi Schools, Ericka summed up, "We should work together for the benefit of our children. We must put our energies into education and make it the top priority in the country." She presented a $100 check from the Oakland Community School to the Nairobi Schools.

Next on the program personal recollections of the founders of the Nairobi Schools were read, followed by a vocal rendition of the O'Jays' popular song "Unity" and a brief speech of support from political activist David Harris. A telegram of congratulations from Dr. Nathan Hare, the former editor of *Black Scholar* magazine, was then read, followed by brief remarks by Muhammad Alim, the dean of boys for the Nairobi Schools.

Next, four beautiful young sisters gave a moving tribute to the work of Mrs. Wilks, reciting a poem written especially for the occasion to the tune of "To Dream The Impossible Dream." The sisters announced that the name of the Nairobi Schools would be changed to the Gertrude Wilks Day and High School as an expression of the community's heartfelt gratitude for the courageous work and leadership of Mrs. Wilks.

In her remarks to the audience, Mrs. Wilks said, "I knew it in 1966 and I know it now — our children can learn and they don't have to take one bus ride." Challenging the parents to "take a stand" and start setting some meaningful "precepts and examples" for our children, Mrs. Wilks declared, "We will continue to struggle because we have the know-how."

The program concluded with the presentation of resolutions of commendation from various organizations and local governments and the presentation of Eula S. Dyer (Mrs. Wilks' deceased mother) Certificates of Community Service to those who have worked throughout the past decade in support of the educational programs of the Nairobi Schools. □



BPINS photo

Children of Nairobi Elementary School give presentation as KDIA Radio's HAROLD VARNER (right) looks on.



BPINS photo

The talented Berkeley Unified School District Gospel Choir gave a rousing performance at the Founders' Day benefit program for the Nairobi Schools.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Federal Prisons Overcrowded

(Washington, D.C.) — The number of federal prisoners has reached a record high and prisons are crowded 22 per cent beyond the capacity they were built to hold, U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi recently revealed. He said that as of March 7 the inmate population of 47 federal prisons and halfway houses had reached the all-time record high of 26,047. The director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Norman Carlson, said the present inmate population is within 1,000 of a long-range total once predicted for 1986.

Black Woman Denied Promotion

(Washington, D.C.) — The Civil Service Commission ruled last week that it discriminated against its highest-ranking Black woman employee by denying her a promotion she sought. Ms. Peggy Griffiths, a Black member of the Commission's Appeals Review Board, had charged in her lawsuit that refusal to name her its deputy chairman was racist.

Ford Policies Slow Progress

(Washington, D.C.) - The Congressional Budget Office warned last week that, if the budget policies advocated by the Ford administration were followed, this country's economic recovery might slow down next year to the point where there would be no further decline in unemployment. This would leave the unemployment rate at a level of 7 per cent or more, according to the estimates of the Budget Office.

N.Y.C. Black Jobless Grow

(New York, N.Y.) — New York City officials reported last week that layoffs resulting from the city's fiscal crisis were having "devastating" effects on minority employment in government. In the last 18 months the city has lost half of its Spanish-speaking workers, 40 per cent of the Black males on the payroll and almost a third of its female workers.

Prisoners At Trenton State Charge Guard Murder

(Trenton, N.J.) — A list of 20 inmates grievances, including charges of murder by guards and the "restoration of all prisoner rights/privileges," has been sent to New Jersey Governor Brendan Byrne and state Commissioner Ann Klein by the Prisoners Representative Committee (PRC) at Trenton State Prison.

In the letter, Howard Ay Gibbs, chairman of the PRC, writes:

"Firstly, we are sure you're aware of the necessity of Mr. Alan R. Hoffman's removal from his present position as superintendent. Since his coming, there has been nothing but the brutality of inmates, constant killings at the hands of prison guards, and total unrest within the confines of the prison.

"More court suits have been filed against Mr. Hoffman than any other superintendent in the history of the prison. This alone



Trenton State Prison inmates are organizing to fight against constant, daily brutality.

should give credence to the fact that something is definitely wrong with the way this prison is run. Moreover, Mr. Hoffman has brought along with him other personnel that were deemed outcast by other prisons.

"At present, there are a number of prison officials and guards who are testifying in the criminal trial of former officers Weiss and Trautman. These men, through their own testimony before a court and jury, are stating their involvement in the brutal beating of inmate, Arnold Banks, along with naming other officials who tried to cover it up, (Capt. R.G. Simmons). Are these the type of individuals that should be running or assisting to run an institution?

"Moreover, some of these same men are now being investigated behind the recent death of inmate John Clarke, and the shooting of inmate John Douglas in the Management Control Unit on the night of January 19, 1976. Are there more crimes that these men have committed that have never been brought to the light or suppressed by higher ranking officials. . ."

Requesting a meeting with Commissioner Klein, head of the state's Department of Institutions and Agencies, the prisoners list the following grievances:

•"Immediate removal of Superintendent Alan R. Hoffman.

•"Immediate dismissal of Captain R.G. Simmons.

•"Immediate dismissal of all staff members/officers who are now being revealed as tyrants, conspirators by the media, and through their own confessions against their fellow comrades, i.e., Lt. Julian, Lt. Fiscor, Sgt. Ruckles, and Officer Munn.

•"Administrative request that Lt. Fiscor and Capt. Simmons take a lie detector test concerning the [illegible] the death of inmate John Clarke, and the attempted murder of inmate John Douglas in the Management Control Unit on the night of January 19, 1976.

"IMMEDIATE REMOVAL"

•"Immediate removal of the state ombudsman and his assistant.

"•Restoration of all prisoner rights/privileges, until such time as they can be negotiated with this administration and the Prisoner Representative Committee.

"•Proper Medical Attention for those prisoners housed in the Management Control Unit. There is currently a "flu epidemic" over there.

•"Immediate issue of the required amount of prison apparel to the prisoners who require them, especially those prisoners housed in the MCU who are wearing "fish suits" (pajamas - slippers) 24 hours per day.

•"Curtail Officer Kubala from bringing chains into the prison for the intimidation of prisoners.

•"An IMMEDIATE END TO ALL PUNITIVE PUNISHMENT, i.e. if a man stays out of trouble, he should not be punished for what another inmate does (mass lock-up)."□

PRISONERS' HEALTH PROJECT

PUBLIC HEARING ON S.F. JAIL HEALTH CONDITIONS SET FOR APRIL 3

(San Francisco, Calif.) — April 3 has been set as the day for the Prisoners' Health Project — sponsored public hearings on the inadequate medical conditions in San Francisco's city and county jails to begin. The hearing will take place at 10:00 a.m. at United Mission Church, 23rd and Capp Streets here.

Endorsed by over 40 Bay Area groups, including the Black Panther Party, the Third World Fund and the Committee for Prisoners Humanity and Justice, the public hearings are being called to stimulate community protest over inhumane jail conditions and thereby force the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to take corrective action.

In both 1973 and 1975, federal District Court Judge Robert Schnacke ruled that medical conditions in San Francisco's city and county jails were so inadequate, impoverished and negligent as to constitute "cruel and unusual" punishment, in violation of Eighth Amendment Constitutional rights.

Yet, despite these rulings, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors has consistently refused



BPINS photo

Inmates of San Francisco County Jail in San Bruno. Hearings are scheduled to begin next month to expose the grossly inadequate medical facilities in San Francisco's county and city jails.

to upgrade jail health conditions or call for full public hearings into the situation. In January of this year, representatives of the Prisoners' Health Project were rebuffed by the Board's Health and Environment Committee and were criticized for taking up the Committee's time.

Announcing last month the Project's plans to hold the public hearings, Jay Moss, community organizer for the group, said, "Through these hearings, we are hoping to educate people about the kinds of conditions that exist down in the jails.

"A lot of us feel that nothing is going to change in the jails until the community begins to take charge of the situation."

Meanwhile, a new coalition group has formed, the Jail Committee of the San Francisco Criminal Justice and Health Coalition, to:

•Press for increased county funding;

•Work to coordinate and continually elevate existing services at the jail;

•Seek out new programs for county prisoners.

The formation of the new coalition came at the end of a day-long conference held at the Mission Neighborhood Center on March 13, and was attended by over 100 people representing a broad range of local agencies and groups working inside the county jail.

Estimating that close to 80 [illegible] cent of all medical, vocational [illegible] rehabilitative services at the [illegible] and the county jails are feder[illegible] funded, the group pledged [illegible] concentrate its initial activities [illegible] forcing the city of San Franci[illegible] to take up its share in financ[illegible] and improving these vital services.□



BPINS photo

Mrs. MATTIE SHEPHERD (carrying sign in foreground) and her supportive family have continued to lead the crusade to obtain justice for her slain 14-year-old-son, Tyrone Guyton.

TYRONE GUYTON KILLER INDICTED ON NARCOTICS CHARGES

(Oakland, Calif.)- A former Emeryville cop who was one of the murderers of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton was charged last week with illegal destruction of narcotics.

Dale Phillips, notorious for his corruptness and for his *harassment of Black and poor people while a policeman*, was charged with three misdemeanor counts of flushing narcotics down a toilet at the Emeryville police station. By state law he was required to turn the contraband substances over to state authorities.

Currently, the Emeryville Police Department, especially its narcotics division, is under fire for various irregularities in its law enforcement procedures.

The narcotics division — formerly headed by Phillips — has been charged in a report written by Alameda County District Attorney Lowell Jensen and Alameda County Sheriff Tom Houchins with maintaining record-keeping and evidence-handling procedures which "do not provide a tolerable level of police service."

Phillips was recently allowed to resign from the department after he admitted that he had lied in a written statement he made concerning a narcotics case. In January, it was revealed that a primary witness in this case, Ms. Dale Wysingle, was a long-time crime partner of Phillips and that she had provided testimony in the Guyton case about the alleged gun the youth had in his possession. This was the excuse used by Emeryville cops to justify the murder of Tyrone Guyton on November 1, 1973. The gun has never been found.

Although Phillips' credibility has been shattered and the cover-up of Tyrone Guyton's murder has been cracked, Lowell Jensen continues to refuse to indict Phillips or the other Emeryville cops who killed the Black youth in cold blood.

The report revealed that 80 per cent of the narcotics in the custody of Emeryville police (estimated to be worth about $20,000) had no record of the place, date or circumstances under which they were seized.

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PROSECUTE THE MURDERERS OF TYRONE GUYTON!

Rally For Justice



To demand that Alameda County District Attorney Lowell Jensen prosecute the Emeryville policemen responsible for the cold-blooded murder of 14 year-old Tyrone Guyton on November 1, 1973

WED., APRIL 7 — 12:00 NOON
STATE BUILDING • McALESTER ST.
SAN FRANCISCO

CAR CARAVAN WILL LEAVE FROM 3310 GROVE ST.
ASSEMBLE STARTING 10:00 A.M.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON 655-5362

Long Beach Activists Demand Community Control Of Police

(Long Beach, Calif.) — The Scott-Smith Committee for Justice is circulating petitions throughout this Los Angeles suburb calling for the establishment of a "community-based . . .city-funded" agency to investigate citizen complaints of police brutality.

The demand for the creation of such an agency was made by Brother Bob Duren, spokesperson for the Committee, at a recent Long Beach City Council meeting. Duren — whose sister, Betty Scott, was viciously murdered by a California Highway patrolman (CHP) last September — charged the Long Beach Police Department with "misconduct" involving "unwarranted, illegal stops and searches, clearly racist provocation and harassment and 'mistake' killings" primarily in Long Beach's Black and poor community.

Duren, who also serves as the director of the progressive, community-based school, the Intercommunal Youth Institute, told the City Council that he and two friends — members of the Committee for Justice — were illegally stopped and harassed by Long Beach police while on their way to a party last December 28. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, January 31, 1976.)

The City Council directed Long Beach City Manager John R. Mansell to investigate the incident. The subsequent report made to the Council was a memorandum from city chief of police R.G. Kortz to Mansell. In a statement to THE BLACK PANTHER, Duren attacked the report as a "devious lie to further conceal the 'actual misconduct' of the officers."

Since the death of his sister, Duren and other Committee members who have been working to bring Betty's murderer, along with the CHP, to justice, have been frequent victims of police harassment and brutality.

The petition calling for the creation of an agency to investigate citizen's complaints of police brutality, states:

"Because of continued incidents of 'questionable power abuse' by members of the Long Beach Police Department (LBPD) against residents of Long Beach, through unwarranted, illegal and un-Constitutional stops, searches, arrests and brutal killings;


BPINS photo

BOB (left) and WILLIAM DUREN, brother and father of slain Betty Scott.

"Because officers of the LBPD, after committing these 'reprehensible acts' are still allowed to continue to serve as 'armed officers' of the law without a public and impartial investigation being made to determine if the officers in question have broken any laws, violated any rights, or if they are in fact mentally and morally competent to perform their duties;

"Because there is no investigative body in the community of Long Beach for victims of 'police misconduct' to take their complaints to, other than the very

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INDIAN WOMEN ACTIVIST FOUND DEAD ON PINE RIDGE

Foul Play By F.B.I. Suspected

(Oglala, S.D.) — Possible government involvement is suspected in the murder of Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, a Canadian Indian active in the American Indian Movement (AIM), whose body was recently found near the town of Wanblee on the Pine Ridge Reservation, *Liberation News Service* reports.

Despite the local medical examiner's assertion that the death was cause by exposure, Dr. Gary Pearson, a pathologist from St. Paul called in by AIM, conducted a second autopsy in which he found a bullet in the cheekbone fired at close range from the back of the head.



ANNA MAE AQUASH, murdered AIM activist.

Ms. Aquash participated in the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee and the struggle that has ensued since then on the reservation against repression by local and federal authorities. Over 240 Indians, including many AIM activists, have been killed on Pine Ridge since the Wounded Knee occupation three years ago.

Ms. Aquash, thirty-one years old and the mother of two daughters, had been considered a fugitive by the FBI since she failed to appear for a trial in Pierre, South Dakota, on a firearms violation in November. Those charges stem from a September 6, 1975, raid by over 100 armed FBI agents on the Rosebud Reservation, neighboring Pine Ridge.

According to Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police, she was identified by her fingerprints after both hands were removed by court order and sent to Washington, D.C. The police did not explain why it took so long to discover from the fingerprints the identity of someone they were seeking from this area. Local authorities buried her before they released her identity.

The traditional Indian leaders of the district of Oglala, where Ms. Aquash had previously stayed on the reservation, have released a statement about her death asserting:

"We do not believe Anna Mae died from exposure. We are certain that foul play is involved. The way in which the BIA police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have handled this investigation makes it appear more of a coverup than an investigation of still another Indian killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation. . .

FINGERPRINTS

"If she was identified by fingerprints, why did it take so long? Why was she buried before she was positively identified? Or did the police and federal and tribal authorities know who she was all along?

"Doctor Brown, the pathologist who conducted Anna Mae's first autopsy, also provided the BIA and FBI with the information they wanted about the deaths of (AIM leaders) Buddy Lamont, killed by the federal forces at Wounded Knee in April, 1973, and Pedro Bissonette, killed by the BIA police in October, 1973. Therefore we question Dr. Brown's independence and credibility. We want to know the truth about Anna Mae's death and the possibility of the government's involvement in it."□





Flint Black policewoman MADELINE FLETCHER (left) is gaining support for her upcoming trial stemming from her self-defense shooting of her White partner.

Support Grows For Flint Black Policewoman Shot By White Cops

(Flint, Mich.) — Madeline Fletcher, a Black policewoman here charged in the self-defense assault against her White male partner, has gained strong support from the local Black community for her upcoming trial, which is scheduled for later this year.

Rallying behind the slogan "Justice For Madeline Fletcher Is Justice For All," Blacks here feel unquestionably that Ms. Fletcher shot her White 230-pound, ex-Marine partner, Walter Kalberer, in self-defense. She has been charged with assault to do great bodily harm and, if convicted, faces a 10-year sentence.

The incident occurred last December when Ms. Fletcher and Kalberer got into an early morning argument over who would drive their patrol car. The argument became physical when Kalberer grabbed Madeline by the collar. She said that when she tried to defend herself, Kalberer pulled out his nightstick and began chasing and beating her.

In a recent *Jet* magazine interview, the policewoman — who is currently suspended without pay — explained that while the incident was taking place, other White police officers in the area were yelling to Kalberer, "That bitch givin' you any trouble? Snatch her Black ass out of the car and whip her ass."

GUNS POINTED

"And so, when I shot him (Kalberer)," Ms. Fletcher said, "I looked over my shoulder and all of them had their guns pointed at me. So I swung my gun around and I said, 'Don't nobody move. . .' I heard a shot and felt a bullet go in my left side. . . I just heard shots coming from everywhere and I stumbled and went down. . ."

Describing a previous experience she endured while employed by the Flint Police Department, Ms. Fletcher went on to say, "I worked with one (White) officer who called me a 'nigger bitch' in the car."

In the latest incident, witnesses agree that it was Kalberer who first attacked the 20-year-old policewoman. However, no charges have been filed against him as of yet. Ms. Fletcher was hospitalized for six weeks with the gunshot wounds inflicted by Kalberer.

Progressive Black Detroit attorney Kenneth Cockrel is serving as Ms. Fletcher's defense

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...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt



Interior court and minaret of Cairo's Mosque of Ibn Tulun.

*In this week's excerpt from . . .*And Bid Him Sing, *we are introduced to Mika, a U.S. government employee living in Cairo, Egypt, who is a close friend of journalist Bob Jones, a Black American. Mika, who is White, is to play a central role in the life of Bob's friend, Suliman Ibn Rashid, a Black poet, who like* Bob and their other Black friends *in Cairo, have fled America in a vain attempt to escape the degredation of U.S. racism.*

PART 23

I don't know how long the front doorbell had been ringing. It was hard to hear from the balcony and I had not been listening for it. I leapt out of my chair and dashed for the door, preparing to make excuses only to find Mika standing there smiling broadly with just a hint of apology and hesitation.

''Bet you weren't expecting me!'' she began.

''Mush maoul! (Impossible!)'' I said automatically in Arabic as she raced into speech.

''Sorry to barge in like this,'' she said as she swept into the apartment, all four-feet-three-inches of her held erect, long scarlet summer scarf and some delicate perfume trailing behind. ''It's unfair, you know, you staying away like this. I've got loads to tell you, and in all this time you must be into something yourself.

BUSY

''How's work? Connie came by the other day and asked about you. Where have you been keeping yourself? Never mind. You don't need to tell me. I know you're busy and the little time you've got free for yourself you don't intend to waste on the mother of a twenty-one-year-old. *Malesh.*'' She had perched herself daintily on the edge of a chair and was seraching in her bag for her cigarettes. In the pauses she took to catch her breath I managed to get in:

''You'll have a cup of coffee?'' I was already heading for the kitchen.

''You know perfectly well I'll *always* have a cup of coffee. Why do you even bother to ask,'' and without a break, ''I've been looking for a new bag. I must have been in every handbag shop in Cairo. Spent almost an hour in one. The girl was just *darling*! We had coffee and she was telling me all about her romances and her husband and . . . well . . . just everything, and asking me what I thought she ought to do. Do I look like *everybody's* understanding mother?''

She laughed heartily, a low, rich sound from deep inside. She knew there was something in her that made her want to play that role, and that I knew it. Catching another chance to get in a word, I called in from the kitchen: ''Well, you're not my understanding mother, sweetheart, so don't be bawling me out for not including you in all my escapades into living.''

She roared with laughter, jumped up from the chair and came flying into the kitchen as the doorbell sounded three long, insistent buzzes.

''Oh, heavens!'' she said, stopping in her tracks. ''You're having guests and here I am. *Malesh*. I'll leave as soon as I have my coffee.''

''No you won't. I'm not having guests. This is a fellow countryman that I've been meaning to tell you about. It's a good chance for you to meet him. Watch the coffee while I go let him in.''

Suliman had heard Mika's voice. His ''*Salem wa alaikum*, brother'' and his handshake were almost offhand as he scanned the sitting room with a cautious expression on his face.

''Come out of the kitchen,'' I said, ''I'd like you to meet a friend.''

Drawing himself up and running the palm of his right hand down his goatee, he followed me into the kitchen. Mika was standing at the stove with her back to us, intent on the kanaka of coffee she was brewing. Her brief skirt, not quite a mini but well above her knees, revealed a well-turned suntanned leg, slim ankles, and small feet stuck naked into almost strapless sandals.

''Mika, this is Suliman Ibn Rashid, a brother from the States who's studying at Al Azhar. Suliman, this is Mika.''

Mika had swung around from the stove to face us. Her left hand held the kanaka, her right she stuck out daintily to be taken, smiling.

''Hi! she sang. ''You've arrived in time for coffee. Do you take it *ziada* or *masbut*?'' Suliman switched his cane to his left hand, thrust his right hand out to take Mika's and said in a loud voice, ''Hello.'' His face was stern and hard but his eyes as they swept down her softened for a moment, just a moment as he said ''*Ziada* (sweet).''

''Good,'' Mika said as she pushed between the two of us, hunching her shoulders to make herself even smaller. She took down a small cup and saucer from the cupboard. As she poured out the coffee, she said: ''Bob makes the best Turkish coffee in Cairo — after mine, of course. You'll see. Here.''

INTRUDER

''But, you weren't making this for me?'' Suliman said as he took her cup.

''Bob was making it for me when you rang the bell. I just watched it finish. But it doesn't matter. I'm an intruder anyway. I'll make myself another one. You two go inside and make yourselves comfortable and just forget I'm here. Bob, do you want coffee?''

''No,'' I answered, ''just finished one. But here, let me make yours.'' I reached for the kanaka.

''Don't be silly. You two go on inside. I'll be along in a minute.''

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Patrolling"

The Black Panther Party's original Ten Point Platform and Program is discussed in this excerpt of "Patrolling" from Revolutionary Suicide. *Huey P. Newton, the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, also pays tribute to the late "Lil" Bobby Hutton, the Party's first member.*

PART 43

This is the program we wrote down:

OCTOBER 1966
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT
WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

2. We want full employment for our people.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black community.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.

6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.

8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

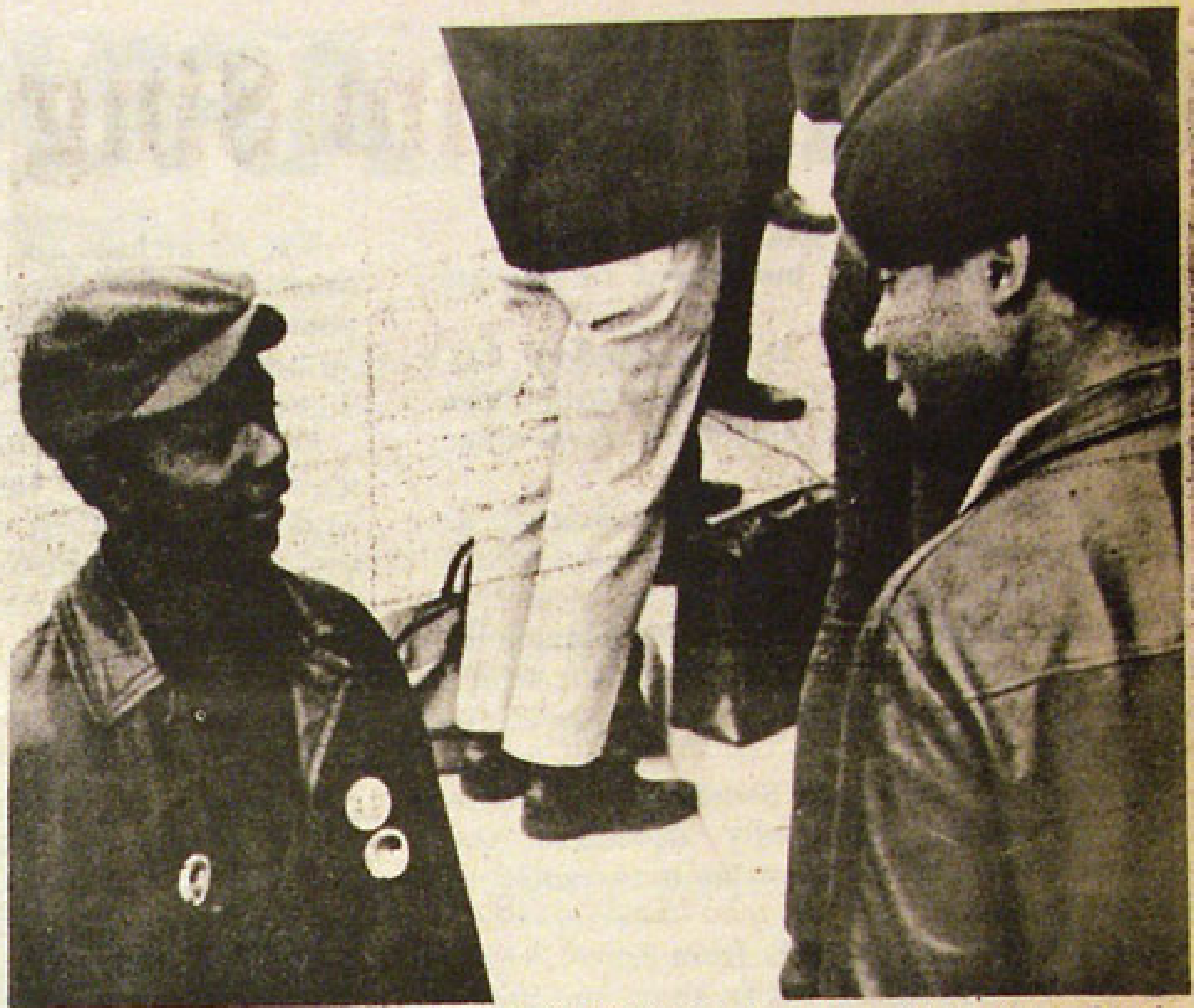
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.

STRUCTURE

With the program on paper, we set up the structure of our organization. Bobby became Chairman, and I chose the position of Minister of Defense. (All titles in the Black Panther Party were eventually dropped in July, 1972.) I was very happy with this arrangement; I do not like to lead formally, and the Chairman has to conduct meetings and be involved in administration.

We also discussed having an advisory cabinet as an information arm of the Party. We wanted this cabinet to do research on each of the ten points and their relation to the community and to advise the people on how to implement them.

It seemed best to weight the political wing of the Party with street brothers and the advisory cabinet with middle-class Blacks who had the necessary knowledge and skills. We were also seeking a functional unity between middle-class Blacks and the street brothers. I asked my brother Melvin to approach a few friends about serving on the advisory cabinet, but when our plan became clear, they all refused, and the cabinet was deferred.



Fallen Comrade "Lil" BOBBY HUTTON (left) talks with leading Black Panther Party People's Artist EMORY DOUGLAS at 1968 "Free Huey" rally at Alameda County Courthouse.

The first member of the Black Panther Party, after Bobby and myself, was Little Bobby Hutton. Little Bobby had met Bobby Seale at the North Oakland Service Center, where both were working, and he immediately became enthusiastic about the nascent organization. Even though he was only about fifteen years old then, he was a responsible and mature person, determined to help the cause of Black people.

He became the Party's first treasurer. Little Bobby was the youngest of seven children; his family had come to Oakland from Arkansas when he was three years old. His parents were good, hard-working people, but Bobby had endured the same hardships and humiliations to which so many young Blacks in poor communities are subjected. Like many of the brothers, he had been kicked out of school.

Then he had gotten a part-time job at the Service Center. After work he used to come around to Bobby Seale's house to talk and learn to read. At the time of his murder, he was reading *Black Reconstruction in America* by W.E.B. Du Bois.

(On the night of April 6, 1968, two days after the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Black Panthers riding in three cars transporting food and supplies for a barbecue picnic to be held in the Black community the next day were ambushed by police. In the shoot-out that followed, Little Bobby Hutton and another Black Panther Party member, Eldridge Cleaver, were trapped by the police in the basement of a house on 28th street in Oakland. The police fired upon the house with rifles, pistols, shotguns, tear gas, and fire bombs for ninety minutes, after which Little Bobby came out with his hands in the air. In cold blood, the police shot him dead in the street. He was seventeen years old.)

Bobby was a serious revolutionary, but there was nothing grim about him. He had an infectious smile and a disarming quality that made people love him. He died courageously, the first Black Panther to make the supreme sacrifice for the people. We all attempt to carry on the work he began.

IMPLEMENT PROGRAM

We started now to implement our ten-point program. Interested primarily in educating and revolutionizing the community, we needed to get their attention and give them something to identify with. This is why the seventh point — police action — was the first program we emphasized. Point 7 stated: "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people." This is a major issue in every Black community. The police have never been our protectors. Instead, they act as the military arm of our oppressors and continually brutalize us.

TO BE CONTINUED

C.I.A. IN AFRICA EXPOSED

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

sought to subvert the movement to liberate Angola.

It is possible that this expanded CIA presence related only to events within Zaire itself, where the Agency has been active since the early 1960s.

But if the build-up was aimed at Angola, as it seems more likely, it would have come before — rather than after — the reported escalation of Russian support to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which official American estimates have placed in March-April, 1975.

President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger have repeatedly defended the increased U.S. intervention as a response to Soviet initiatives.

The official U.S. records from Zaire, which date from November, 1974, show an unexpectedly large American presence, including diplomats, military advisers and employees of the Agency for International Development (AID). AID has furnished cover for CIA employees in many parts of the world.

Of those named in these various posts at least 18 can be identified as members of the CIA team, which is headed by a long time veteran of Agency operations in Laos and Indonesia, Stuart E. Methvin.

The 18 include six "case officers" and two secretaries working under the cover of the political section of the American embassy, with an additional 10 handling top secret telecommunications.

Still others suspected, though not positively identified as CIA employees, appear to be working in the U.S. Consulate in Bukavu, in the so-called Regional Security Office, and among a group of civilians in a military mission nominally run by the U.S. defense contractor, Lockheed.

The identification of the known CIA people can be confirmed by official Department of State biographical records, such as those that led to the public exposure of other CIA personnel in Europe.

Former CIA official Philip B.F. Agee, who has been attacked publicly for helping in these identifications of CIA operatives, has verified





Triumphant MPLA soldiers (left). The MPLA recently routed CIA-backed forces in Angola. Military equipment (right) headed for Angola from Zaire, headquarters for the CIA in Africa.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS DECLARES:

"Armed Struggle Is The Top Priority"

The rapid decline of Western imperialism in southern Africa has brought about the growing militancy of the struggle of the majority Black population of the Republic of South Africa against the ruling fascist White regime. Encouraged by the people's victories in Mozambique and Angola and the approaching liberation of Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa), the vanguard Black revolutionary party of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), has declared that "armed struggle is the top priority."

The following is the text of a report made by the PAC mission to the United Nations on the recent meeting of the political party's Central Committee in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

PART 1

The Central Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) held its first bi-annual conference for 1976 at the External Headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from February 9 to 21. Members closely studied the current situation inside Azania and recent developments in the neighboring territories of southern Africa. The conference concluded that the situation is ripe for stepping up the struggle on all fronts, with armed struggle as the top priority. Accordingly an overall strategy was agreed upon and the concerned departments are already implementing conference decisions.

The review of the situation inside Azania was carried out on the basis of a fully substantiated report from the interior delivered by leading cadres who brought it out. The report shows that the movement is strong inside the country in spite of the sustained brutal persecution of leading cadres and the setbacks suffered during former attempts to launch a continuous people's war. Lessons have been drawn from mistakes of the past and using correct revolutionary ideology as a guide, party cadres have been instrumental in creating a favorable climate for the launching of the armed struggle. The broad masses of the oppressed people are in good morale because of the resurgence of militant Black resistance to apartheid tyranny from within.



In a demonstration against South Africa's notorious "pass laws," protestors carry a load of their passes to be burned in a huge bonfire.

PATRIOTIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS

The African people in Azania have also been buoyed by the successes of the patriotic freedom fighters in the northern borders, particularly the sweeping victory scored by the forces commanded by the MPLA against the South African apartheid aggressors. The sight of captured White South African soldiers being paraded in Luanda and before the OAU (Organization of African Unity), with the forced withdrawal of South Africa's aggressor army from deep inside Angola, have exploded the myth of White invincibility and strengthened the Azanian people's resolve to resume the armed struggle for the restoration of their inalienable birthright — the land and political power.

In good morale the movement inside Azania foresees an intensification of guerrilla warfare by Namibian and Zimbabwean freedom fighters. Azanians consider that it is the supreme Pan Africanist duty to intensify the struggle within, keep the apartheid regime from expanding its aggression in neighboring countries and simultaneously advance the cause of freedom at home.

the identifications of the 18 in Zaire and has turned over their names and addresses to representatives of the MPLA in London as well as to friends and associates elsewhere.

The MPLA has received Soviet support since the beginning of its independence struggle against the Portuguese. The Portuguese, on the other hand, had received arms and other material from the U.S. both covertly and as a part of the NATO program. This lasted until the 1974 coup in Lisbon and the U.S. is now allied with Zaire and South Africa in support of the anti-MPLA factions.

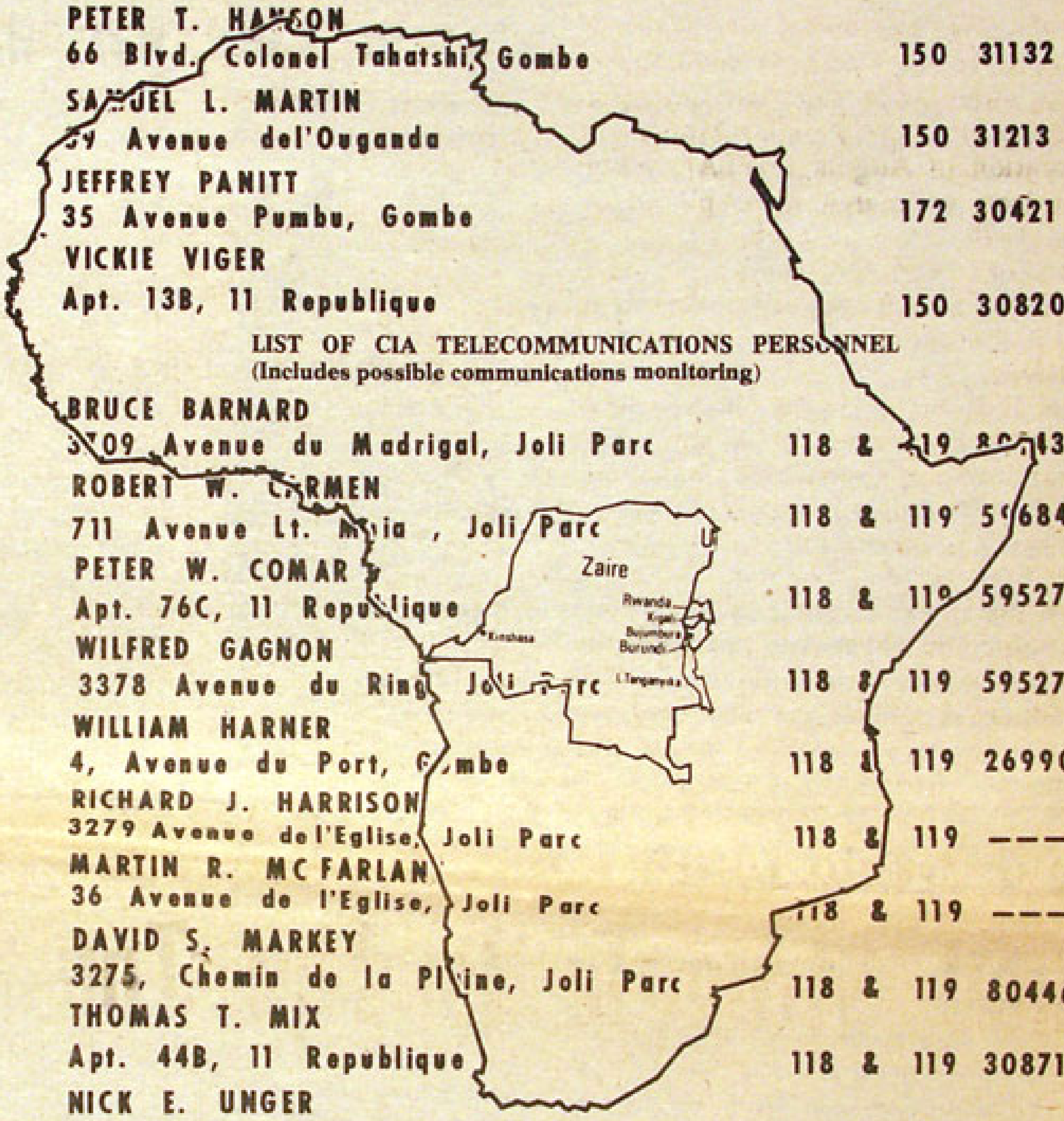
Official American sources have also admitted that since 1961 the CIA has given a secret personal subsidy to FNLA leader Holden Roberto, reportedly for "intelligence collection purposes." The amount has been listed as $10,000 a year for Roberto but informed sources place it much higher.

"PRIVATE COVER"

Research on other CIA activity and personnel in situations under "private cover" is continuing. In past revelations Agee has documented instances of use of U.S. labor programs abroad as CIA operations. In one case this led to the publication of the name and address of one of George Meany's oldest associates (for 30 years), Irving Brown, and his second home in Paris. Agee has also speculated about the use of some European unions as conduits for CIA money into Portugal in a release in the summer of 1975.

LIST OF THE CIA PERSONNEL UNDERCOVER IN THE U.S. EMBASSY IN KINSHASA

	EMBASSY EXT. TEL.	HOME TEL.
STUART E. METHVEN, (Chief of Station) 3124 Avenue de la Caisse d'Epargne, Gombe	150	31499
ROBERT BENEDETTI 150 Blvd. du 30 Juin	185	30132
BRUCE BRETT 872, Avenue Nicole, Djelo Binza	185	---
NANCY BUSS Apt., 15C, 11 Republique	150	30822
PETER T. HANSON 66 Blvd. Colonel Tshatshi, Gombe	150	31132
SAMUEL L. MARTIN [illegible]9 Avenue del'Ouganda	150	31213
JEFFREY PANITT 35 Avenue Pumbu, Gombe	172	30421
VICKIE VIGER Apt. 13B, 11 Republique	150	30820
LIST OF CIA TELECOMMUNICATIONS PERSONNEL (Includes possible communications monitoring)		
BRUCE BARNARD 3109 Avenue du Madrigal, Joli Parc	118 & 119	80[illegible]43
ROBERT W. CARMEN 711 Avenue Lt. Mia, Joli Parc	118 & 119	5[illegible]684
PETER W. COMAR Apt. 76C, 11 Republique	118 & 119	59527
WILFRED GAGNON 3378 Avenue du Ring, Joli Parc	118 & 119	59527
WILLIAM HARNER 4, Avenue du Port, Gombe	118 & 119	26990
RICHARD J. HARRISON 3279 Avenue de l'Eglise, Joli Parc	118 & 119	---
MARTIN R. MC FARLAN 36 Avenue de l'Eglise, Joli Parc	118 & 119	---
DAVID S. MARKEY 3275, Chemin de la Plaine, Joli Parc	118 & 119	80446
THOMAS T. MIX Apt. 44B, 11 Republique	118 & 119	30871
NICK E. UNGER 120 Blvd. du Juin	118 & 119	30649





South African policeman arrests Black demonstrator in Johannesburg. (See Africa in Focus, page 18, for details.)

After a deep study of all reports from the various departments the Central Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress took a number of important decisions, including the following:

1) The Central Committee was satisfied that the department charged with mounting the armed struggle is working hard to keep on schedule with its assignment. It was reaffirmed that the *ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE TOP PRIORITY* and all departments were instructed to rally behind this effort in practical ways, to ensure that PAC retains the initiative in the fight to liberate Azania.

2) The Central Committee judged that the Foreign Affairs Department has worked excellently in expanding the diplomatic role of the external mission, combating Vorster's sham detente, exposing the fraudulency of "separate-development" and the Transkei "independence" mockery and projecting PAC and the struggling masses of Azania before the international community. Because of the great demands of the priority program, and in the face of the challenges growing from the favorable conditions in Azania, the Department has instructions to redouble its efforts and further streamline the machinery for its systematic work.

3) The Central Committee found the Political Education and Publicity and Information Department to have performed commendably in the conscientization of the party cadre, in propagating a correct line on people's war and mass action, and in making out a formidable case to prove that the Azanian people's stuggle is for self-determination and against a particular brand of colonialism, South African settler-colonialism. (The 30th Session of the U.N. General Assembly recognized the Azanian people's struggle as a struggle for self-determination in a number of resolutions.) For the same reasons as above this Department is under instructions to step up its activities inside Azania and rise to the ever increasing demand for PAC literature abroad. Further, the Educational wing is to ensure that all cadres undergoing studies are into subjects which relate to the demands of the national liberation struggle. Methods for ensuring this have to be tightened.

4) The Central Committee agreed that proper records are kept by the Department of Finance and that this Department has done exceptionally well in providing resources for the priority program, despite the fact that funds are extremely limited in relation to the tasks at hand. Support has increased, particularly from the OAU, progressive socialist countries, nonaligned countries and other regular contributors, who wish to remain anonymous. The ripening conditions inside Azania are causing greater demands and the Department of Finance has instructions to initiate an intensified fund raising program.

TO BE CONTINUED



THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Rhodesian Talks Breakdown Over Majority Rule Issue

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Talks held on the establishment of majority (Black) rule in Rhodesia between the country's White-ruled government and Black reactionary leader Joshua Nkomo ended here abruptly last week following the government's continued insistence that there be a transition period of 10 to 15 years before majority rule.

Nkomo, who had publicly maintained that majority rule be accomplished in one year, told reporters, "In the end the talks broke down on the single and fundamental issue of majority rule now. This the regime was not prepared to contemplate, save in 15 years' time and when they are satisfied that the Blacks have earned it."

The leader of the reactionary wing of the African National Council (ANC) went on to say that "These people (government) have refused to remove the cause of war. It is obvious that they have said they are prepared for war. They have done it, not us."

Knowledgeable observers point out that the breakdown in the talks between Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and Nkomo is of little significance since Nkomo in no way represents the masses of Black Rhodesians. Nkomo was handpicked, the observers said, by the White settler regime as the "representative" of Rhodesia's over six million Black people.

ARMED STRUGGLE

Last year, the militant Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — which has been leading the armed struggle against the Smith regime since 1966 — revealed a secret deal between Nkomo and Smith whereby Smith would make Nkomo leader of the ANC (an umbrella organization of Black Rhodesian nationalist groups) in return for Nkomo's support for gradual majority rule.

Thus, the observers, maintain, the talks were nothing more than a sham staged by the illegal Smith regime and the traitor Nkomo to allow the government to claim that it had tried to peacefully negotiate majority rule before stepping up its suppression of the Black population

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL VOTES FINANCIAL AID PACT TO MOZAMBIQUE



FRELIMO leaders (left to right) MARCELLO DOS SANTOS, SAMORA MACHEL, president of Mozambique, and JOAQUIM CHISSANO.

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The U.N. Security Council last week voted to provide the People's Republic of Mozambique with financial aid to offset the country's losses resulting from its economic sanctions imposed against the White racist regime of Rhodesia on March 3.

The action was taken following an appeal to the Council from Mozambican Foreign Minister Joaquim Alberto Chissano. In a published letter addressed to current Council President Thomas Boya of Dahomey, Chissano asked the world body to help Mozambique defend itself "by every means" from "an outright war of aggression" by Rhodesia.

Mozambican President Samora Moises Machel issued a "state of war" declaration against Rhodesia on March 3 following the former British colony's invasion of Mozambique in alleged "hot pursuit" of Rhodesian Black freedom fighters. In addition to imposing economic sanctions against Rhodesia, President Machel also closed Mozambique's 800-mile long border with the White minority ruled country.

Charging that Rhodesian aggression in Mozambique is a threat to world peace, Chissano's letter stated, "This decision (state of war declaration) involves serious economic consequences for my country."

Earlier, at a stopover at the Lusaka (Zambia) International Airport on his way to the special U.N. session requested by Mozambique, Chissano told reporters that ". . .our people are determined to support the armed struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) up to the final victory. . .

"We cannot feel free in Mozambique when we have a minority and racist regime on our doorsteps. We will have to fight the enemy in order to create good conditions for our people," Chissano said.

Meanwhile, in Mozambique's capital city of Maputo over 100,000 Mozambicans held a mass rally and demonstration to protest Rhodesia's invasion of Mozambique and to support their government's decision to apply full sanctions against the White minority regime.

Hsinhua news agency reported that the demonstrators, braving the rain, chanted militant songs and shouted slogans against the Ian Smith government of Rhodesia as they marched through Maputo's main streets. The demonstrators carried signs reading, "Defend Our Motherland." "The Struggle of the Zimbabwean People Is Ours." "Down With the Smith Racist Regime."

Addressing the rally, Vice Minister of National Defense and Chief of General Staff of the Mozambique armed forces Sebastio Marcos Mabote called on his countrypeople to work hard in all fields in order to defend their motherland and support the Zimbabwean people.

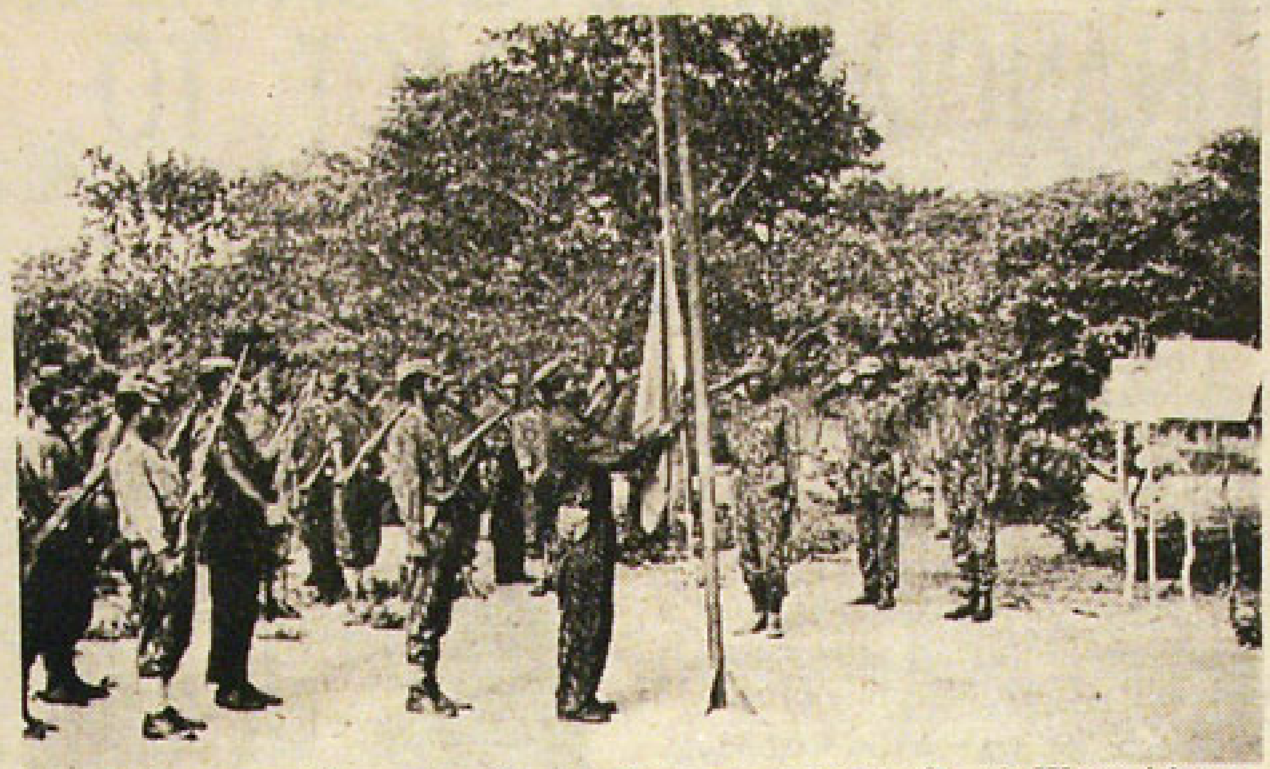
"To support the struggle of the Zimbabwean people is to strengthen our independence and consolidate our revolution," Mabote emphasized.

Earlier, the FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) government announced that it had expelled five members of its ruling Central Committee. Radio Mozambique said that "drastic disciplinary measures" had been taken against the five because they had deviated from the party line and corrupted life. □

NAMIBIAN LIBERATION NEARS AFTER 57 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

With the defeat of the U.S. and its imperialist allies in the People's Republic of Angola, world attention is now turning to the country of Namibia (South West Africa), where for over 50 years the Black majority population has been illegally ruled by the White racist Republic of South Africa. South Africa used Namibia as a base for its aggression against Angola in the recent war there.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of an article written for the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) by Mike Mercer of the LSM's Bay Area Unit. The article, of which excerpts follow, discusses the Namibian economy and traces the history and growth of the Namibian people's struggle against South African colonialism under the vanguard leadership of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).



Namibian guerrillas raise flag during ceremony in South West African jungle.

PART 1

The battle for Angola has recently captured the front pages, but the next "domino" in the liberation of southern Africa is little-known Namibia, or South West Africa. Sandwiched between Angola and South Africa, it has been an illegal colony of the latter for half a century, and was recently the base for the South African invasion of Angola.

ARMS-IN-HAND

SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) has fought arms-in-hand since 1966 for the genuine independence of Namibia. Ironically, the MPLA was unheard of until the struggle in Angola reached the present critical stage, but it will not be long before SWAPO too is on the verge of national liberation. The consequences of this process for South Africa and for U.S.-dominated international capital are grave.

Roughly twice the size of California, Namibia has a semi-desert terrain which belies its incredible natural wealth. With a little over a million inhabitants, Namibia's per capita gross domestic product is the second largest in Africa. The Namibian people, however, are among the most oppressed in Africa. This contradiction lies in the system of apartheid which is at the heart of the South West African economy.

Blacks, constituting 85 per cent of the population, are confined by law to the 40 per cent of the land which makes up the reserves. These Bantustans, or "homelands," are carved out along tribal lines, thus separating the Ovambos, Hereros, Namas, etc. They exist primarily in northern Namibia, where the climate is arid, desert-like, and the land is mostly infertile. Inside the White "Police Zone," where no Black man may venture without a pass, cultivatable land, offshore fishing and most of all vast mineral deposits are exploited by White settlers, South African and multinational corporations.

But Namibians are not only excluded from this great natural wealth; it is their labor which realizes it. Because subsistence in the reserves is impossible, Black men are forced to work as contract laborers in the mines, in the canneries, on the White farms. Their wages amount to a few dollars per month; for the multinationals this means profit rates upwards of 25 per cent. The intense contradiction, as much as the intense poverty, produced by this system of neo-slavery necessarily gives rise to organizations such as SWAPO, and furthermore explains SWAP's broad base of support among the Namibian people.

The origins of the present situation go back to 1919, when the League of Nations, upon the fall of German colonial rule, granted South Africa a mandate to govern Namibia: "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory." South Africa duly proceeded to ignore the high-sounding terms of this "sacred trust" and developed the country according to the interests of the Whites.

The new South West African administration completed the "pacification" of the natives only begun by the Germans, methodically alienating land for White settlement and pushing Blacks onto the reserves. The League of Nations managed to look the other way, and while the U.N. terminated the mandate and subsequently passed resolutions condemning South African occupation, it has been impotent so far as enforcement of the measures is concerned.

With World War II came an increased need of the industrialized nations for raw materials; thus with an influx of foreign investment, the South West African economy shifted its focus from settler agriculture to mining and other extractive industry. In 1947 the long-dormant Tsumeb mine was reopened by American Metal Climax (AMAX) and Newmont Mining Company, two American corporations, and several South African firms. The corporations have, since that time, extracted over one billion dollars in lead, copper, zinc and other minerals. With this increase in industry, the need for cheap labor also increased. It was no longer a matter of acquiring a farmhand, herder or other "boy"; contract workers in large supply were necessary for the "development" of the economy, i.e., for the enrichment of the privileged White minority. . .

In simple terms of wages, a high rate of exploitation is evident. In mining, the highest-paying sector, average pay in 1971 was reported to be about $30 a month. It is difficult to relate this to say, the American minimum wage of over two dollars *an hour*, but possibly more foreign is the idea of absolutely no working rights. Namibians, once contracted, have no say over where

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

AFRICA IN FOCUS

South Africa

Over 1,000 Black South Africans waving clenched fists and shouting "Amandla" ("Power") demonstrated in Johannesburg last week outside the Supreme Court building where seven Black political activists are being tried under the fascist Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Act. Police violently dispersed the peaceful demonstration by using dogs, batons and guns to coerce the protestors to break up, causing the crowd to angrily retaliate by throwing sticks, stones and bottles at the police.

Angola

The MPLA-led government of the People's Republic of Angola has vehemently denied a report originating from Zambia that an all-woman firing squad executed 17 Cuban soldiers convicted of rape and murder in the West African nation. The charge — reported widely in the Western press — was made in a communique from the defeated UNITA group, which claimed that the alleged raped women had identified five of a group of 17 captured Cubans as their attackers. In a cable message sent to *Reuters* news agency, the Angolan Ministry of Information said, "This is not the first time that the agents of imperialism and of racist South Africans have fabricated stories."

Ethiopia

Under attack from several quarters, the ruling military junta of Ethiopia has removed 55 high government officials in a cabinet shake-up and is debating demands from within its ranks for a return to democratic civilian rule, *Pacific News Service* reports. The junta has ruled the country since overthrowing Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 but its self-proclaimed "socialist revolution" has come under increasing attack from the people of Ethiopia.

Equatorial Guinea

The U.S. State Department recently announced the suspension of diplomatic relations with Equatorial Guinea. The action was taken in response to a message from the West African nation's foreign minister sent to the Department declaring that two U.S. diplomats who recently visited Equatorial Guinea were persona non grata (unwanted persons).

INTENSIFIED PALESTINIAN REVOLT IN WEST BANK FORCES ISRAEL TO SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE

(United Nations, N.Y.) - Intensified and growing Palestinian rebellions throughout the West Bank region have forced Israel to agree to participate in a U.N. Security Council debate on the "explosive situation" along with representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

The move marks a significant departure from Israeli's previous policy of boycotting Security Council sessions in which the PLO also took part. It comes in the wake of eight consecutive weeks of widespread Palestinian demonstrations against the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank area and the domination of over 650,000 Arab residents.

Meanwhile, in the Jerusalem suburb of Bethany, three young Palestinians were wounded last Wednesday, one seriously, when Israeli soldiers indiscriminately opened fire on a crowd of 1,000 protestors.

The critically wounded youth, an 11-year-old boy, underwent four and a half hours of surgery for a bullet wound in the head at a nearby hospital. A 14-year-old girl and an 18-year-old man were also wounded.

Ramallah, where earlier in the week Israeli troops used whips to beat six young Palestinian women returning to school after a protest meeting, was placed under a total military curfew.

According to one report, no one in Ramallah, a town of 20,000, or its twin city El Bira "is allowed to go to work. Schools are closed. Shops are shuttered. The central market place is empty, with fruit rotting in stalls. Telephone service has been cut off. Sporadic rifle fire and machine gun bursts keep all Palestinians indoors."

No word has been given as to how long the curfew will last.

Earlier on the day the curfew was imposed, baton-wielding Israeli soldiers clashed with stone-throwing youths outside most of the town's schools. Dozens of streets were blocked by barricades and stacks of rubber tires were burned in a marketplace and a neighboring refugee camp.

The town of Bethlehem also experienced its first demonstration last week since the current wave of protests began when students at Bethlehem University barricaded themselves in their fortress-like school and ran up a pair of Palestinian flags.

Scores of students gathered on the roof and stone parapets of the huge old building and hurled rocks and other objects down on helmeted Israeli soldiers and policemen.

Nabulus, with a population of 50,000, Jericho, Tulkarm, Jenin, Bar Zeit, as well as several other towns and villages have all been hit by growing protests in recent weeks. The mayors and city councils of six key cities have resigned in anger against the "new phase of (Israeli) terror and repression."

Close observers cite several factors that have ignited fires of smoldering Palestinian discontent against the Zionist occupation into full-scale rebellion:

•A continuing Israeli policy of "illegal confiscation" by establishing settlements on Arab land.

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Israeli soldiers pummel Palestinian youth (left) who are demonstrating against the Zionist occupation of Jordan's West Bank (center shaded area, map). Youth in center photo have been beaten unconscious by Israeli police.

Unity Summit With African Leaders, Castro Ends

(Dakar, Senegal) - Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro participated in two days of talks last week with the presidents of the Republic of Guinea, the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in Conakry, Guinea, concerning "the unity of progressive forces" against the White minority regimes in southern Africa.

Radio Conakry, monitored in Dakar by *Reuters* news agency, said that "complete understanding" was reached by presidents Sekou Toure of Guinea, Agostinho Neto of Angola, Luis Cabral of Guinea-Bissau and Prime Minister Castro on "new ways of promoting cooperation and the consolidation of the world revolution."

President Toure recently called for joint action by "progressive" African regimes to put an end to White rule in Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa). A communique issued at the end of the talks said that Guinea and Guinea-Bissau had pledged to provide the MPLA-government of Angola with all the aid necessary to "hasten the total liberation" of Angola.

Prime Minister Castro flew to Conakry from Algeria where he met with government leaders and representatives of the Polisario Front of the Saharan Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

U.S. Imperialism In Eritrea Sparks Resistance

(Asmara, Eritrea) - U.S. imperialism in Eritrea has been revealed as the underlying reason for the step-up in the capture of American military personnel by Eritrean liberation forces.

For more than two decades, the U.S. has been the most consistent and staunchest supporter of feudal Ethiopia in its expansionist policy and war of aggression in Eritrea. Since the war started in 1961, the U.S. has been involved, directly and indirectly, in the attempt to thwart and suppress the just struggle of the Eritrean people.

Thus the recent widely publicized "kidnappings" of U.S. military personnel in Eritrea should not come to us as a surprise. Such "kidnappings" or capture of American spies, advisors, trainers, including American consul at Asmara, have taken place in the past. These incidents should not be looked at in isolation from the designs and activities of U.S. imperialism in the region in general and in Eritrea in particular.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT

U.S. involvement in Eritrea dates back to the 1940s when the British, the then colonizers of Eritrea, allowed the U.S. the use of Radio Marina communications facilities in Asmara, and the Royal Air Force base in Gura. However, it was not until 1950 that the U.S. started to be directly involved in Eritrea. When the question of how to dispose of "Italian" Eritrea was brought to the U.N. General Assembly, the U.S., together with other imperialist powers — in order to safeguard its economic interests and reinforce its political hegemony in strategic Eritrea — conspired to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia. In this way the U.S. would consolidate its hold on Eritrea and the horn of Africa while its neocolony, Ethiopia, would get "access to the sea" — Eritrea.

Thus, it was the U.S. that spearheaded a resolution at the U.N. in 1950 to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia — which ran counter to the Eritrean peoples' expressed desire for complete independence. Shortly after the Federal Act was executed in

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"WE WANT WHITE FELLA GO AWAY NOW"

AUSTRALIAN BLACKS STRUGGLE FOR LAND RIGHTS AND SURVIVAL

(Wattie Creek, Australia) — Ten years ago, 200 people of the proud Gurindji tribe, led by Vincent Lingiari, walked out of Wave Hill Station to Wattie Creek, a place at the fringe of the desert country, desolate save for its natural spring, repeating monotonously, "We want White fella go away now. . ."

The people whom the Gurindjis wanted to leave were the London-based Vestey group whose properties extend throughout the north of Australia and who control most of the world beef business in Africa and South America.

Regarded as no more than a strike by the Whites, the exodus of the Gurindjis, in fact, after 178 years of servitude, gave birth to the first of the great Aboriginal land claims in Australia.

Wattie Creek, the chosen place, is hidden by banks of river trees at the end of a rough gravel road. The tribe lives in shacks of corrugated iron, canvas and cluster. Dogs and goats wander around. The cattle yards off to the north now bear the brand of the Murrumula-Gurindji Company Pty. Ltd., instead of the Wave Hill brand. Blackfellow's Knob, a high-pointed hill known for the slaughter of 30 Gurindjis by Whites, dominates the village. It is odd that in this northern territory, places called "Massacre Creek" or "Betrayal Ridge" generally commemorate the killing of two or three Whites whereas the sites of the slaughter of hundreds of Blacks go unmarked.

In the village, the health clinic is empty — the nurse promised by the government has not come yet. In the meantime, children between six months and nine years old suffer the blinding virus of hachoms. However, after 10 years, the Gurindjis of Wattie Creek have a garbage service they run themselves and work on to clean the settlement.

The village features also a neat row of almost completed white houses with big kitchens and three bedrooms which were built to meet the requirements of the Europeans against the wishes of the Gurindjis whose kinship system demands cluster housing.

The Council of Elders, presided over by Vincent Lingiari, gathers regularly to discuss matters of the village and plan the future. The relief comes in jokes about the Vesteys, the government officials and the much-hated Baptist preachers. The Baptists are disliked because of their lack of involvement in the communities and their interference with the storytellers' instruction in tribal myths and legends. The Gurindjis fear that Christianity will destroy their culture.

The experiences of Blacks with "civilized" Whites throughout northern Australia has been bitter. There was no education, no housing and the food was mostly salt beef and bread. The infant mortality rate was even worse than it is now. Slaughter of Aboriginals occurred during the 1930s and police (in Aboriginal language, the "man with chains") did nothing. Until the 1960s no White had ever been convicted of murdering a Black. Until the late 1940s, Blacks who ran away were caught, dragged back in chains.

In the late 1960s, Peter Nixon, once country party minister, told the Gurindjis to get off Lord Vestey's land or pay for it in a White man's way. The Council of Elders suggested they should pay for the land in the currency used for them for 70 years — flour, sugar and tea. Mr. Nixon and Vestey declined the offer.

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WORLD SCOPE

Jordan

The Arab Health Ministers Conference has condemned Israel for violating international agreements and resolutions in connection with the minimum health and living conditions of Palestinian residents in the occupied territories. The conference, held in Jordan's capital of Amman, also announced the establishment of an Arab fund for the development of health services as well as urged the World Health Organization (WHO) to take all necessary measures to undertake fact-finding tours of the occupied territories and make new efforts to improve health and living conditions there.

East Timor

Forces of the progressive Front for the Liberation of East Timor (FRETILIN) announced last week that they have recovered part of the second largest town in East Timor from invading Indonesian troops. The FRETILIN foreign affairs spokesperson said that FRETILIN troops were also resisting a strong Indonesian drive on the interior town of Baucau.

South Korea

Twelve prominent South Korean civil rights activists have been arrested following their defiance of a ban on all criticism of the reactionary Park Chung Hee government. The activists read a statement, before an audience of 500 — on the anniversary of the 1919 non-violent Korean uprising against Japanese colonial rule — in which they criticized Park and called for his resignation.

Philippines

Filipinos in Manila are flocking to see a highly political movie titled *Sacada* which depicts efforts made to organize a trade union by impoverished sugar plantation workers. The film is a rarity here because of strict government censorship. Although President Marcos is reportedly on the verge of demanding major cuts, so far the film has been shown intact, preceded, however, by a notice that the film depicts conditions before September, 1972, when Marcos imposed martial law.

ENTERTAINMENT



Cry Not, Child!

Cry not, child!

Your father has answered the call of the revolution.

He's taken up the gun,

So that you can live like a man.

He is gunning down the blood suckers.

Weep not, child!

Because father has refused to be crushed.

Wipe your tears and

Be prepared to take up his gun

As he falls and

To continue the glorious struggle

Until victory!

By B.A. Mudadi (Zimbabwe)

...Dirties What He Leaves

". . .We were happy when he first came. We first thought he came from the light; but he comes like the dusk of evening now, not like the dawn of morning. He comes like a day that has passed, and night enters our future with him.

"His laws never gave us a blade nor a tree, nor a duck, nor a grouse, nor a trout. . .How often does he come? You know he comes as long as he lives, and takes more and more, dirties what he leaves."

Charlot — Flathead Chief



ESSENCE MAGAZINE REVIEW

"...AND BID HIM SING": THE WORK OF A SKILLFUL WRITER



BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS has made an important contribution to Black literature with his critically acclaimed novel . . .And Bid Him Sing *(cover at right.)*

The following review of. . . And Bid Him Sing, *the critically acclaimed novel written by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois, appeared in the February, 1976, issue of* Essence *magazine and was written by Ms. Margaret Cooper, a high school English teacher and free lance writer from Uniondale, New York.* (*Also, see page 12.*)

This novel is the work of a skillful writer. The reader is sent headlong into the tumultuous world of Suliman, a Black American living in Cairo, Egypt, and hating every moment of it.

Du Bois' portrayal of Suliman is fine artistry. From the outset we are aware that Suliman has been so destroyed by racism in America that he can't function freely anywhere. His battered personality lashes out at everything and everyone.

It is to Du Bois' credit that we are able to sympathize with his surly main character, for Suliman is not only obnoxious, ignorant (especially of Egyptian customs) and bad tempered, but he is also easily hurt, talented and courageous. It is clear that there is tenderness in the man, and we feel Suliman's anguish at having to deny that element of his character.



BPINS photo

One of the most effective scenes in the novel is Suliman's brief moment of triumph when his skill as a poet is recognized by both Black and White members of this enclave in Cairo. The author's ability to place the reader in the center of the action is very clear in this nightclub scene. Du Bois craftily depicts the excitement of Suliman overcoming his weakness and his oppressors for that one moment and in the same scene shows the readers the potential strength of Third World unity.

Despite this fine craftsmanship, the book is not without flaws. Most disappointing is the author's reluctance to explore Suliman's relationship with the two important women in his life: Karima, his Egyptian-Sudanese wife, and Mika, a white Albanian Moslem. Du Bois' portrayal of Karima and the few bits and pieces of her relationship with Suliman are fine and beautifully written but he holds back. He treats both women almost as incidentally as Suliman treats the women he and his friend Fawzy play with. Karima and Mika are much too important in Suliman's life to be treated in such a manner by the author.

Despite its flaws this book is worth reading — for the pleasure of the author's craft, for an authentic look at Egyptian thought and customs (Mr. Du Bois lived in Cairo for 12 years) and for the Black American's place in that world. □

Milwaukee Parents Boycott Fire Damaged School

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Division, stating, "Integrationists may burn more schools to increase integration."

Instead of making necessary repairs, the superintendent ordered that the four damaged rooms in the school be closed off. In response, one Board member remarked, "If that (North Division) was a White school, this wouldn't happen."

On the day the school was to have reopened, March 9, attendance was about half normal as several hundred students refuse to return to the fire-damaged building until corrective measures are taken.

Meanwhile, controversy continues to build up here over a recent school desegregation order. Black state representative Lloyd Barbee originally filed the desegregation suit against the Milwaukee school system 10 years ago. On January 19, 1976, federal Judge John W. Reynolds declared that the Milwaukee school system was segregated.

However, Superintendent McMurrin and other members of the School Board are attempting to resist the court order and have announced that they are planning to appeal Reynolds' ruling.

Judge Reynolds has set up a so-called "Committee of 100," composed of teachers, parents, students and others, to work out a desegregation plan. Barbee, however, has termed this Committee "a public relations job."

"It seems to me that the set-up is going to be good for orchestration," Barbee said. "It looks like a phony."

The progressive state assemblyman went on to urge the local NAACP to bypass the Committee and the school and work directly with John Gronouski, who was appointed by Judge Reynolds to come up with the desegration plan.

The Milwaukee NAACP has warned the school Board that "Milwaukee can only avoid the trouble that afflicts Boston or Louisville if the Board replaces its encouragement of resistance with constructive action to achieve quality education in a desegregated school system."□

Free The People



"Today. . .a great upsurge of Puerto Rican sons and daughters has lifted up for nationhood."

"The Puerto Rican Struggle Continues"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

strikers demanding their rights, against the students, against liberators.

It is a war to the death, but the world is not supposed to know much about this war. The news of our struggle does not reach the commercial newspapers and the communications media. And if it happens, it is very rare and almost always derogatory and offensive to the truth and to the crux of the matter of the independence movement.

LIBERATION FORCES

The liberation forces of Puerto Rico and our national war is conducted according to the only means possible amidst the impossible circumstances in which we must fight to liberate ourselves. Don Pedro Albizu Campos, our foremost leader, and the other national leaders after he was killed — systematically killed in prison, for he was released near death after years of electronic tortures in the prisons of the U.S. — have taken the Puerto Rican question to the United Nations and other world forums, but still our trouble is not fully known to the world.

There are lots of signs going on in this world today. Our case is waiting for consideration at the U.N. General Assembly, where it was recognized as a U.S. colony, with its sovereign right to national independence and a free determination.

No nation on the earth that is not free and sovereign, or that is invaded and conquered by a foreign power can by itself decide to make association with the enemy, the oppressor, the invader. It is impossible.

That is why the concept of commonwealth or associated state of Puerto Rico is nil before God's law and international law. The so-called associated state of Puerto Rico with the United States is a mockery to the principle of sovereignty, to the human nations. This so-called form of political government and usurpation that governs my country is an imposition, a compulsion, it has been established by force. The so-called referenda and assemblies made by the government officials of the United States in the captive nation of Puerto Rico carry the force of the oppressors and fits premeditated intention to bring about the results that fit its pockets and its political business.

Today, in these last years, a great upsurge of Puerto Rican sons and daughters has lifted up for nationhood. They are the result of the world fermentation for change, for human, national, universal encounter with truth. As a Puerto Rican mother, I rejoice in my prison for this celebration of what Puerto Rico's heroes and heroines have fought, died for, and been imprisoned and persecuted, in the revolutions of 1868, 1950, and 1954.

DISTINGUISHED PATRIOT

Puerto Rico's Oscar Collazo, the distinguished patriot of our nation, has been imprisoned for a quarter of century in the U.S. prisons. This man walks serene upon the shadows of death in Leavenworth. He, as myself, Andres Figueros Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores Rodriguez and the great Grizelio Terresola and all the Puerto Rican patriots and heroes who never, never die are happy now and forever to have confronted the terror of the atomic giant.

We are called "terrorists" by the U.S. government, but I tell you, United States of America, look inside your heart and see your atomic terror.

On March 1, 1954, Puerto Rico went to its last recourse and attacked the United States in its own heart, in its own entrails, in the capitol of the United States of America. We did go to the last recourse. It does not matter if the proclamations of the People's Republic of Puerto Rico on March 1, 1954, at the United States of America capital, at Jayuya, October 30 revolution of 1950, led by Blanca Canales, and at El Grito de Lares, September 23, 1868, led by Marianna Bracetti have been ignored by the oppressors, and their puppets and followers. We will continue to fight what terror we must fight and we will win, and we shall overcome.

LAST RECOURSE

The right to the last recourse is a recognized concept which has been used through history. You do not expect that Puerto Rico is going to, or would have been able to arm itself as other peoples do and confront the United States of America with a traditional war. No, it is not possible. We had made our war in the only way we've been able to.

We have been the most peaceful nation on earth, or as much as any other people on earth can be peaceful. But the centuries advance and the signs are here and Puerto Rico confronted its enemy in the only way it could have done because the enemy had no ears to hear. Don Pedro Albizu Campos taught that its ears must be opened with guns. We do hope we won't have to open again the ears of the monster with guns.□

MARTIAL ARTS

Progression

As changes take place in social attitudes, so too do changes occur among athletes — changes based upon natural laws of progression rather than the whims and fancies of individuals.

The development of something as broad as martial arts or any of the related combat skills requires its practitioners and supporters to view their "art," method or discipline not as a distinct unit separate from any and everything else. On the contrary, the arrival of such sports and skills as aikido, wrestling, Thai Boxing, and the diverse systems of hand and foot methods that are broadly labeled martial arts, all have common points that are bound together regardless of name.

Most serious and practical martial artists who have not been trapped by a blind allegiance to tradition, style or school of thought are able to place their art (as some choose to label their styles) within a framework that is open-ended and in tune with the *sporting or combat phase of* martial arts. However, among some of the tradition-tied schools, particularly the Korean-oriented "styles," there seems to be no place for the present and no room to "dilute" the art with practical combat and sporting aspects.

Some instructors whose experience spans 10 to 20 years and who are masters within their narrow perspectives, neither understand the commonness of principles inherent in all sports, arts, and skills, nor are they willing to accept the fact that learning isn't a "packaged deal" but a process, an additive one at that, based upon experience, general laws and specific contemporary conditions and individual abilities.

The persistent refusal of these "mustache pete" types of schools and instructors to recognize strengths and weaknesses in all things and that the old will eventually; inevitably supersede the new, is a sign of ignorance and not competence. The application of boxing principles to Tae Kwon Do is one example of needed change to update and strengthen a previously sterile "art." To some masters of the art, this is lunacy. To the critical practitioner, the true martial artist, this is only keeping up with the continuity of things and preparing oneself for combat-not kata or "one step sparring."

"HURRICANE" CARTER, JOHN ARTIS RELEASED FROM PRISON

N.J. Supreme Court Rules First Trial "Substantially Prejudiced"

(Clinton, N.J.) — Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis were released on bail here last week after the New Jersey Supreme Court unanimously ordered a new trial for the two Black men who were unjustly convicted of a triple-murder nine years ago.

In overturning the conviction against the former number one middleweight boxing contender and his co-defendant the court ruled that the prosecution had concealed evidence that "substantially prejudiced" a fair trial.

The combined bail for the two men was $35,000 which was provided immediately by their defense committee and by heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali, who was there to greet Carter upon his release.





JOHN ARTIS (left) and RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER are free on bail after nine years of imprisonment on a false conviction for a 1966 Paterson, New Jersey, triple-slaying.

TRIPLE MURDER

Carter and Artis were convicted in 1967 for a triple-murder that occured on June 17, 1966, in a White, Paterson, New Jersey bar. The prosecution's case was based on the damaging testimony of two ex-convicts, Arthur Bradley and Alfred Bello. Both men recanted their testimony in September, 1974, admitting they had lied in return for leniency in the disposition of numerous charges against them.

Bradley, for example, faced total sentences of more than 70 years from prior convictions but instead was given one concurrent term for a few of his charges. He only served three years before being paroled.

Even after the recantations, the original trial judge for the case (who has since been promoted), Judge Samuel Larner, twice denied motions for a new trial. However, on its own motion, the New Jersey Supreme Court decided to review Carter's and Artis' appeals after nationwide support for the two began to rapidly grow.

The court found that Larner's refusal to grant a new trial "was erroneous and his application of the relevant legal principles was too restrictive."

The major piece of evidence that influenced the court's decision was a 1966 tape — which was withheld from the defense — in which Lt. Vincent DeSimone promised Bello help in parole problems in return for testimony against Carter and Artis. DeSimone was in charge of the murder investigation at the time.

Speaking at a press conference at Clinton State Prison following the announcement of the state supreme court's decision, "Hurricane" answered a question about whether he was bitter:

SOUND BITTER

"I think you say I sound rather bitter because if I am bitter, then I have a right to be bitter. . . What you're seeing is a person who has become blind in this penitentiary for lack of proper medical attention, what you're seeing is a man who has been without his wife and daughter for nine and a half years for a crime he did not commit," Carter said.

Speaking from Leesburg State Prison, co-defendant Artis said, "I didn't expect it. For 10 years Rubin and I have been telling the truth, but from 1966 to now everything has been denied, denied, denied and I didn't look for any change."

Carter, when asked whether he would accept executive clemency, sharply answered, "I would accept my freedom anyway I can get it. If I had my druthers," he continued, "I'd rather have a fair trial that's free from perjured testimony, that's free from the manufactured evidence that put us here (in prison) illegally. I want everyone to know that Rubin Carter and John Artis could not, would not and did not commit that crime."☐

U.S. Imperialism In Eritrea Sparks Resistance

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1953, the U.S. and Ethiopia signed a "Defense Pact" in 1953, which granted the U.S. military bases in Eritrea, among which is the $70 million notorious Kagnew station.

The Kagnew station in Asmara, the base that is coming under increasing attack by liberation fighters, is not a simple military "communications" base, as presented to the world. The base among other things, kept tabs on liberation movements, such as FRELIMO, PAIGC(Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands), even Viet Nam. . .and continues to keep tabs on the Palestinian, Omani, Eritrean liberation movements as well as on the Arab world.

It is to be remembered that the Ethiopian puppet regime and its master, U.S.-imperialism, in a hopeless attempt to confuse world opinion, had announced that the Kagnew station in Eritrea had been dismantled and all operations halted. Contrary to this false claim, however, information released by the EPLF (Eritrean Popular Liberation Front) from the interrogations of the two captured Americans show that the base is still intact.

Information furnished by the EPLF further revealed that Stephen Campbell and James Harrell were not "civilian" technicians as the imperialist media had claimed, but are military personnel with long service in the military:

MILITARY AID

Over the last 20 years U.S. military aid to Ethiopia reached more than $200 million, more than half of the total military "aid" to all of Africa. American advisors and Zionist instructors equip and train Ethiopian security agents and counterinsurgency units. U.S. bombs, napalm and planes have so far resulted in the levelling of more than 150 villages, the massacre of more than 50,000 innocent Eritreans, and in the displacement of 500,000 civilians.

The present military junta of Ethiopia (the Dergue) despite its anti-imperialist and socialist proclamations, continues to receive military aid from the U.S. — only this time at a higher figure than the previous feudal government. While the previous government received $10 million a year over the last two decades in military aid, the fascist "socialist" government is currently getting $53 million in military hardware, and over the last year or so had received an additional $35 million in military "credits."



Eritrean people's guerrillas on the attack.

Since the escalation of the fighting in February, the U.S. has been airlifting millions of dollars worth of ammunition. Tanks and armored cars daily continue to be unloaded at the Eritrean port of Assab. On June 26, 1975, President Ford authorized the secretary of state to provide the Ethiopian military junta with $25 million of military hardware and to furnish it with F-SA jets, which the President stated was "required by the national interest of the United States"!

Though the Ethiopian military junta, equipped lock, stock and barrel with U.S. military equipment and gadgets, and advised and trained by Zionists, is redoubling its effort to crush the Eritrean struggle, it continues to suffer humiliating defeats at the hands of the Eritrean liberation fighters. As U.S. planes continue to bomb villages and kill innocent Eritreans, the liberation fighters continue to enjoy popular support and win even higher confidence of the entire population. The countryside morale of the population remains very high, while the Ethiopian occupation army is completely isolated in a few towns, constantly harassed, completely demoralized and unwilling to continue to fight. The Eritrean struggle, following a correct revolutionary line, is mass based and an integral part of the world anti-imperialist revolution.☐

Rhodesian Talks Breakdown

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because of the alleged threat of "communism."

A high-ranking official in the Smith government even admitted recently that the talks between Smith and Nkomo meant nothing since he (Nkomo) lacked support from the masses of Black Rhodesians.

Predictably, following the collapse of talks Smith hysterically warned that Cuba and Russia may "intervene" in Rhodesia on the side of ZANU but that his government would continue to fight Black "terrorists" even if the West did not come to its (Rhodesia's) aid. The U.S., Britain and the White racist regime of South Africa have told Smith that they will not provide him with military assistance against ZANU liberation forces now undergoing training in the neighboring People's Republic of Mozambique.

Meanwhile, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda declared that the future of Rhodesian Whites is doomed if majority rule has to be



Zimbabwean liberation forces in armed struggle against Ian Smith regime.

achieved through armed struggle.

Speaking before a military parade in Lusaka, Zambia's capital city, President Kaunda said that armed struggle is now inevitable in Rhodesia and that the country's White settlers, by refusing to read the writing on the wall, "must now face the consequences of the battlefield on which majority rule must be decided."☐

Namibian Liberation Nears

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

they will work, for how much, under what conditions, for how long, etc. Breaking contract is illegal, as are strikes. In this sense the contract labor system is a form of slavery.

But inasmuch as slavery presupposes reasonable upkeep of the slave, conditions in Namibia are for the worker worse than slavery. The vast labor reserve means that every contract worker is expendable, as one worker soon discovered:

"White farmers could get away with anything . . . treat their workers just as they pleased. Many times we heard about men being shot dead by their Baas just for talking back. The law did nothing, of course — it was made for the Whites."

Conditions such as these obviously leave Namibians with little to lose, few options for dealing with their situation. Some "break contract" and run away, but soon find themselves confronted with the repressive, if efficient, state apparatus, to be beaten, interrogated, often imprisoned indefinitely. Thus when the Ovamboland People's Congress, a forerunner of SWAPO, was founded in 1957 to deal directly with the contradictions of the contract labor system, many Namibians responded. Although limited to the contract system and based among the Ovambo people (who make up the bulk of the contract laborers), the OPC (later the Ovamboland People's Organization) was successful in organizing strikes, rallies and other forms of popular resistance.

TO BE CONTINUED

Australian Struggle

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The exodus ended in early 1967. The rebellion posed a threat to the territory, a threat to White leaseholders and to the system of station labor. However, the violence used to try to defeat the Gurindjis found its counterpart in the help they received and above all in the courage and faith of the Gurindji people.

Not too long ago, 12 Gurindji children went to Alice Springs to receive their secondary school education, in the words of Lingiari, to "get educated, learn things that the White kids know." Lingiari also wants the women to regain the tribal importance they once had.

The Gurindjis are slowly moving towards success and with hard work and faith realizing their dreams of self-determination.☐

Palestinian Revolt

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

•A highly disputed Israeli court ruling allowing Zionists to pray in or near sacred Arab mosques and holy places.

•Heavy handed tactics by Israeli soldiers in attempting to prevent Palestinian demonstrations, particularly the "violent attacks" on students and assessing huge fines on their parents.

•Imprisoning protestors without trial.

•The U.S. veto of a United Nations proposal to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In this regard, many see the protests as directly connected with the upcoming municipal elections to be held throughout the West Bank on April 12.

This view was advanced by the mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf, who told *The New York Times* that despite his recent resignation he still intends to run in the elections, heading a slate of candidates "clearly committed to the cause of Palestinian nationalism."

Khalaf said that "the overwhelming majority of the people of Ramallah supported the PLO" and wanted to see the creation of "an independent Palestinian national authority" on the West Bank of the Jordan.□

Letters to the Editor

SUPPORT WOODS-TODD CASE

Brothers and Sisters:

In the wake of the Black community once again witnessing a brutal "miscarriage of justice," as in the case of Woods-Todd, the important function we have now is to sustain our efforts in mobilizing and generating continued support in behalf of Dessie and Cheryl.

In spite of the fact that Dessie and Cheryl's lawyers have filed notices of appeal to higher courts, the overall mobilizing efforts of their Defense Committees must not be left to dwindle and die! Now, more so than ever, it has become necessary for the burden of these efforts to be incorporated into more active assistance, while at the same time propagating as much inspiring information into the Black community as possible. The necessity for this type of particular action stems from two very important ramifications that were revealed during the four month old struggle.

First, in spite of the fact that the broad base appeal to excite community interest could have been much more responsive, the efforts we generated of actually creating the Committee, soliciting funds for legal fees, petitioning the community, and incorporating involvement actually afforded Sisters Dessie and Cheryl an opportunity to receive much lighter sentences even if they were unjustly deserved. When one observes the blatantly oppressive environment of the Alamo County area and the anti-Black record of Judge O'Connor, it is not difficult to visualize the potential possibilities that would have confronted the two women had there not been a mobilizing effort at all. So, with this frame of reference in mind, the reward to ourselves can easily be interpreted as re-committment to struggle.

SECOND, both of these beautiful sisters are mothers and they will approach incarceration with the uncanny paranoia that they will temporarily be unable to offer their children the love only they are able to continously express! This must truly be a learning lesson in fact because we should now be able to understand more directly that our community survival is closely interwoven with the survival of all our progressive institutions! Now that we have structured our mobilizing efforts to a defense of these sisters rights, as we continue, we can also structure our mobilizing efforts to offer their children the guidance and understanding they'll need to correctly deal with this traumatic experience. This will not only afford ourselves with an opportunity to grow, but the chances are greatly heightened that we can win the spirits of two very strong sisters over into a life of progressive struggle.

We have witnessed a number of individuals express interest in the dilemna of Sisters Dessie and Cheryl! What needs to be done now in order to create a more dynamic and functional institution is to bring about a balance between the unique talents and contributions of individuals and the incredible potential quantities of energy which flows from the community! This would give us a more essential unity of creation enabling us to then help develop greater channels of flexibility and spur more Black folk to take their own struggle to heart.

LET'S CONTINUE THE DEFENSE OF OUR OWN BLACK SISTERS!
KEEP ALIVE THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE!
Dessie X. Woods and Cheryl Todd
Defense Organization, Inc.
P.O. Box 1935
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY FROM McALESTER PRISON

Greetings Comrades! Brothers! Sisters! Panthers!

My name is Wakumba Omen the First and I greet you with profound revolutionary solidarity in behalf of myself as well as my comrade brothers trapped in the belly of the beast here at Maximum Segregation (the Rock) at McAlester! I do not know whether you will even receive this letter as repression is hard and constant here. My purpose, therefore, is an attempt to establish correspondence with someone in the Party, that you may be aware of our position here, and we may connect our struggle.

I am the teacher of Black History and officer of the Organization of Black Culture and Unity. My brothers and I are moving towards ideological clarity, trying to grow. We are not highly educated, but we seek to learn (just as myself, 37 years old, with only 5th grade grammar education). We let nothing inhibit us from this. The racist reactionary forces here have used all types of discouragement tactics against us, but still we persevere! Murder, beatings, gas, total and indefinite lockdowns! But we know the people will win and that capitalism in its final stages always appears terrible on its deathbed! So it would be a great honor if you would communicate with us! We are sincere and dedicated "potential" revolutionaries! We feel that the "streets" are the test! Hope you will answer me.

In the Spirit of Blackness!
A Luta Continua!
Wakumba Omen I
aka Lawrence Diamond
87507 — Box 97
McAlester, Okla. 74501

Southern Activists Fight Unemployment

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

Social Justice. This walk, being sponsored nationally by a coalition of peace and civil rights groups, started in February in San Francisco and is proceeding across the country. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is organizing its Southern wing, due to start in April in New Orleans.

The Memphis workshop also laid plans for grass-roots campaigns in Southern communities to stop proposed cutbacks in the food stamp program, to support the Moss-Dingell Bill which would write into federal law consumer-oriented controls on utility companies, and to mobilize public support for national health legislation being sponsored by Black Representatives Andrew Young (Georgia) and Ron Dellums (California).

EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION

There was extensive discussion of ways to combine the fight for full employment with campaigns to stop the building of the proposed B-1 Bomber. This bomber would consume billions of dollars that could be used for jobs programs and human needs.

At a business meeting following the workshop, SOC also discussed plans to intensify a national campaign to free civil rights activists now imprisoned in North Carolina. These include Jim Grant of Charlotte, North Carolina, and the Rev. Ben Chavis, co-chairperson of SOC, who is one of a group of defendants known as the Wilmington 10. They were jailed in the wake of struggles against racism in the schools in Wilmington, North Carolina, and now face 282 years in prison.□

Study Proves Prisons Unsafe — For Guards And Inmates

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

ages were 18 to 45. Ours included only students.

"They had 60 people and some of them were teachers, some were common laborers, some were journalists, some were computer programmers, a bar man, a whole line of people; even included policemen.

"The procedures of the experiment were very similar, and I think the important thing is, the main result is that, quote, 'There were many lines of evidence which attested to the extraordinary power of the simulation and the extent of the involvement of the subjects. From the beginning of the induction — experimental procedures — the compelling nature of the situation was made obvious by the subjects' ready acceptance of the whole procedure.

" 'It was soon apparent the prisoners became prisoners or prison officers, almost instantly, and did not require time to work their way into the roles. . .'

"Now, this is the part I would like to stress:

". . .In the standard custodial groups there was a constant hostility in the relationship between prisoners and prison officers. The hostilities between officers and prisoners was by no means one-sided. . .'

"And in his conclusion he goes on to say:

CUSTODIAL REGIME

'It is clear that our standard, custodial regime induced ordinary people with little knowledge and no experience of prisons to behave in much the same way as prisoners and officers in real prisons. In this respect, the experiment provided further evidence that behavior in prisons results primarily from the nature of the prison regime, rather than from the personal characteristics of inmates and officers.'

"Now closer to home is a replication of our study at the beginning of February of this year, February, 1976, and it's reported in the *Napa Register*, newspaper of Napa County.

"My students and I have been consulting with the Napa County supervisors, who have just opened a new jail for Napa County.

"Prior to this year, prisoners from Napa County were sent to Sonoma, and we have been consulting with them about ways to design the jail and the prison regime to minimize its dehumanizing effects on the inmates, sentenced and unsentenced ones.

"Parts of our recommendation and part of their training, both for the guards and to test out the facilities, was a simulation that they conducted in the beginning of February. One hundred and sixty citizens from Napa volunteered to be prisoners for one to four days in their new jail before it was in operation.

"They were arrested by the city police, brought to the actual jail, and kept there by real jailers. So, essentially, it's as close as you can get to an actual simulation with real jailers, real police, real guards.

"The only thing that differed was these people knew they had not necessarily committed a crime, although many of them were charged with a crime as part of the experiment: that is, they were picked up on drug charges, on robbery, on loitering, assault, and things of this kind.

"I visited the situation. A student of mine, James Newton, worked with their research staff during the whole time. And all I would like to call your attention to is the fact that in only a few days, with average citizens like us, not necessarily college students, the behavior of many of the inmates, mock inmates, again resembled those of actual inmates that I have talked to in prison, ex-convicts, as well as information that I have read about it.

"For example, one of the women, wife of a policeman, had a nervous breakdown after only one day in that situation and had to be released, crying, in the middle of the night.

"One inmate took another inmate as a hostage, put a knife to her throat, and actually cut her throat, although the extent of the damage was not serious, but it was enough to make her bleed.

"Some of the guards were accused by the citizens, the mock prisoners, of treating them in discriminatory, dehumanizing ways, and this is with guards who knew that it was an experiment, knew that some of the prisoners were county supervisors.

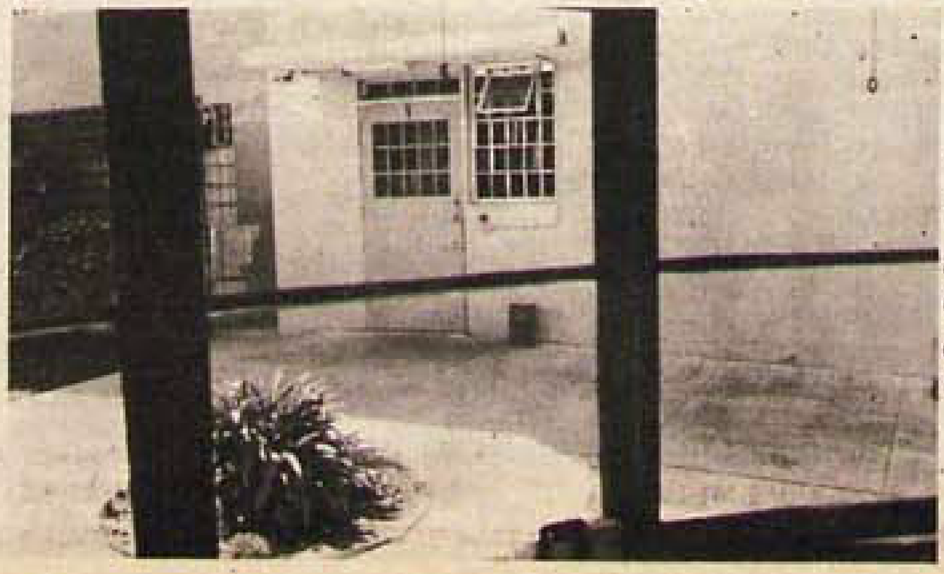
"So that here is another source of evidence that you can create a situation which becomes transformed into a reality. It doesn't matter that these people had not committed crimes; just the way it didn't matter in our study or the study done in Australia. Once you are in the situation, once you are institutionalized, then you are either staff or inmate, you are either prisoner or guard, and the guards come to treat you as if you were a prisoner, and it makes little difference what the offense is.

"Those are some lines of evidence which support it."

TO BE CONTINUED



Guard Post #8 overlooks the wall that Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson was supposedly going to scale in his so-called "escape attempt" on August 21, 1971.



View of the entrance to San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center.

Tyrone Guyton Killer Indicted

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

Also, in 327 cases between 1974 and 1975, in which non-narcotics property was seized, 55 per cent of the property could not be accounted for.

The report also showed that a "minimum" of 2,500 crime reports were destroyed, contrary to a state law which requires that these reports be submitted to the state. In fact, all police records for 1973 were destroyed, the year of the Guyton slaying.

Although Emeryville police claim that the files were destroyed because of lack of space, investigators pointed out that the space required for this information "is no more than a single file drawer."☐

Long Beach Activists

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

same police department that is being complained about;

"Because members of the LBPD are not immune to state and federal laws;

"And because officers of the LBPD are in fact employed by the citizens of Long Beach, who therefore have the right to complete control over police conduct;

"We, the undersigned citizens against police abuse and misconduct, demand, that a city-funded, community staffed and controlled 'investigative body' be established by the City Council of Long Beach, for the purpose of conducting official investigations into all incidents where charges of police misconduct are involved."☐

Support Grows For Flint Black Policewoman

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

counsel. Cockrel told *Jet* that during the police training received by Ms. Fletcher and other women and minority people, constant racist harassment by veteran White officers was responsible for "hindering their learning process."

Ms. Fletcher has been on the 400-member Flint police force for only 14 months. She was hired after a court order demanded that more Blacks, minorities and women be hired. White Flint police officers are known to be highly resentful of that court order.☐

IN SAN FRANCISCO
THE BLACK PANTHER
Can Be Bought At:

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BOB'S H & K LIQUOR	1300 THIRD ST.
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